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- ART. I.—1. *Fatti ed Argomenti in risposta alle molte parole di Vincenzo Gioberti intorno ai Gesuiti.* Per CARLO M. CURCI. Napoli. 1845.
2. *Una Divinazione sulle tre ultime Opere di Vincenzo Gioberti.* Per CARLO M. CURCI. Parigi. 1849.
3. *La Demagogia Italiana ed il Papa-Re, pensieri di un Retrogrado.* Parigi. 1849.
4. *Lezioni Esegetiche e Morali sopra i Quattro Evangelii.* Per CARLO M. CURCI. Manuelli. Firenze. 1874-76.
5. *Il Moderno Dissidio tra la Chiesa e l'Italia considerato per occasione di un fatto particolare da C. M. CURCI.* Seconda Edizione. Firenze. Fratelli Beucini. 1878.
6. *Breve Esame dell' Opuscolo del Sac. Curci, il Moderno Dissidio.* Per un PADRE DELLA COMPAGNIA DI GESU. Roma. Tipografia della Propaganda Fide. 1878.
7. *Il Nuovo Testamento volgarizzato ed esposto in note Esegetiche e Morali da CARLO M. CURCI, SAC.* Fratelli Bocca. Roma. 1879, 1880.
8. *La Nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti, Studii del Sac. C. M. CURCI.* Firenze. Fratelli Beucini. 1881.
9. *Risposta al libro la Nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti del Sac. Curci.* Per un PADRE DELLA COMPAGNIA DI GESU. Prato. Tipografia Giachetti. 1881.

FATHER CURCI is a popular orator, and an able and voluminous writer; but it is not to the vigour or fertility of his tongue or pen that he owes his present celebrity. This results rather from other causes, to some extent factitious ones; partly, that is, from the burning interest

of the subject he has treated in his later productions, and partly from his own personal history, which has attracted the eye of the public at once by its startling inconsistency, and by its appetising disclosures of a mutiny, almost unique, within the bosom of the most secret and powerful society of the Church to which he belongs. Something too is due to the curiosity excited by so rare a literary venture as his original translation and exegesis of the New Testament; though even here, if we may judge from the reviews, it is rather the striking prefaces to the work, than the work itself, that have arrested attention. Nor should we omit perhaps the suspension of public expectation, the doubt whereunto this would grow; indeed, so notably has this element entered into the popular sentiment, that the newest step taken by Curci in submitting to the censure pronounced by the Congregation of the Index on his last pamphlet, has, even while we are writing, caused a very perceptible collapse in the public interest.

The burning question to which we have alluded as the chief factor in our author's celebrity is that of the relations between the Papacy and the new order of things in Italy. We use of set purpose the restrictive phrase, in Italy. Many aspects of the question are European, nay, world-wide, and as old as the Papacy itself. The definition of the border-line between the ecclesiastical and the civil power has been from the beginning, is, and ever will be, matter of contestation between the Papacy and the rulers of all countries in which Roman Catholicism is "the religion of the State." These wars of the Marches may be suspended by the succumbing for a time of one of the combatants; but they will never cease altogether till Romanism abandons the claims of fifteen centuries. But even these points, which regard Italy in common with all Papal countries, assume in Italy a special, often a crucial, interest, and are treated by our author in this their local bearing. And over and above these there is a distinctively Italian question, arising from the fact that Romanism, while extended over many lands as an ecclesiastical system, has existed in Italy as a temporal power, occupying a central portion of Italian territory. It is this Italian question as such, the discussion of which has more than anything else given to Father Curci his present position of notoriety; for it has been instinctively felt, and we believe rightly,



that more than any older and more general point of exequatur or investiture, of mortmain or secularisation, of civil marriage or clerical privilege, it is this Italian question that at present presses upon the Church of Rome the most thorny, the most importunate, and the most momentous claim of settlement.

The question is as old as the century, dating at least from the great French Revolution. In that epoch, to one ancient aspiration of the Italian people, two others were added, the birth of the times. The old aspiration was for independence, the new ones were for freedom and national unity. And unfortunately for the Church of Rome, each of these aspirations confronted her with an inadmissible demand and an insoluble problem. The first, indeed, did so rather by accident than of necessity. At least there seems no reason in the nature of things why the Papacy should be hostile to Italian independence. And in point of fact there have been epochs in the history of the peninsula when the cry, *Fuori lo Straniero!* was raised by none so loudly as by the Roman pontiff himself. But as the cry then was prompted more by the policy of the moment than by genuine Italian feeling, so the policy of the moment drove the Papacy after the restoration in 1814 into close alliance with that foreign power which, as most interested in maintaining the old order, drew on itself, until very lately, the concentrated hatred of the Italian people. In fact, be it a virtue or be it a defect, Popery has interests too cosmopolitan to permit that Italian patriotism should ever be more than a very secondary influence in the determination of its policy.

With regard to the two other aspirations of Italy, the statement made above needs no qualification. The demands of the democratic spirit, that Titanic birth of the great convulsion with which the last century closed, were inadmissible; the problem of the coexistence of the Pope's temporal power with the new democratic institutions was insoluble. It would not be difficult to prove by an irrefragable logic that the spiritual claims of the Roman pontiff and the absolutism of the Papal ecclesiastical organisation, to say nothing of Romish dogma as to the origin of civil power, are utterly incompatible with the mildest form of constitutional rule in a State of which the pontiff is temporal monarch. But all necessity of abstract argument has been superseded by a crucial experiment.

The disastrous break-up of the attempted connubium at the beginning of the late Pope's reign settled the question once for all, and for both parties.

Then again Italian unity had exigencies still more incompatible with the Pope's temporal power; indeed, the mere conjunction of the two phrases sounds like a contradiction in terms. It is true that, in the crisis of Italy's agony in 1848, even patriots like Gioberti and Cesare Balbo did dream of a sort of confederation of Italian States under the protectorate or presidency of the pontiff. But it was only their passionate longing for the independence of Italy at any cost, and their conviction that to drive out the foreigner it was necessary to find some principle of united action, that blinded their eyes for a moment to the utter vanity of the scheme. The project, in fact, never emerged from the limbo of abortions to which it was native; and even could we conceive it to have come fairly to the birth, it would no more have satisfied the aspiration for unity than did Pius the Ninth's prelatie Council of State in 1847 that for democratic self-rule.

Such being the terms of the Italian question, but one mode of dealing with it was possible to the Pope-Kings who followed the Restoration in 1814, and that was utterly to refuse its claims and ignore its problems. For them it could have no right to exist; any recognition of such right was suicidal. The motto, *Aut sint quæ sunt, aut non sint*, was not an alternative created by the firmness or obstinacy, put it as you will, of the Papal authorities; it was founded in the nature of things: for the existing order to change was for it to cease to be. The new wine could not be put into the old bottles without bursting them; the old garment could not take the new piece without being rent to ruin. No doubt, huge mistakes of policy and rule were made which might have been avoided; much exasperation of the popular sentiment might have been spared; the premiums on delation, the arbitrary arrests, the condemnations on the testimony of unknown informers, the blind wholesale savagery of the reprisals after revolt, the vexatious interferences with the everyday life of whole populations, the investing of the same man with the mitre of the bishop and the black-cap of the condemning judge, the dread of "material" improvements and inventions, the immunities and privileges conferred on religious hypocrisy and *vice versâ*, all these and many other

features of the administration of a Brunetti and a Lambruschini, did no doubt load the Government with superfluous infamy, and push the strife to unnecessary extremes. But how in its broad lines, as a policy of uncompromising hostility, of war to the death, the attitude of the Papacy towards the Italian question, could have been other than it was, we do not see. The wonder is, not that a Leo XII. should have followed a Pius VII., and a Gregory XVI. a Leo XII., and a Pius IX.—after Gaeta—a Gregory XVI. in the same policy of unrelaxing repression, but that for one insane moment the grip upon the foe should have been loosened and the inevitable consequence have been unforeseen. Even Father Curci never suggests that, so long as the temporal power existed, it could or should have attempted a policy of compromise. Nay, he was himself, as we shall see, one of the fiercest champions of the tiara-crown, until events struck the two asunder; nor, in all that he has written since, is there any forswearing of his former fealty.

But if the no-compromise policy was right and necessary so long as there was a temporal kingdom to be defended—no defence being possible if once a fissure was made in the dykes—is it so still, now that the great waters have swept in and prevailed, and show no sign of subsidence? For eleven years, by word and deed, the Vatican has replied in the affirmative. What it was right and necessary to protect, it is now right and necessary to recover. The “accomplished fact” has introduced no other new element into the question than success does into robbery. You do not defend your plate against the burglar by all the means in your power *until* he has purloined it, and then acquiesce in his cancelling your arms and initials, provided he will leave you a few forks and spoons for daily use. Moreover, the one act of dishonest usurpation vitiates the whole title of the usurper. As there can be no compromise with the robbery, so there can be no relations of amity with the robber. Betwixt the Roman pontiff and the Italian Government there is a great gulf fixed. Indeed, there is no Italian Government in the eyes of the Papal party. There is a king of Piedmont who keeps his court in Rome and rules it and the rest of Italy by a factitious Parliament; but no official organ of the Vatican has ever used the titles, King and Parliament of Italy. Such is the present attitude towards the Italian question, not, as Father Curci

would have us think, of a small faction of mediocrities that by dint of intrigue and bluster and self-assertion have gained for the moment the upper hand in the councils of Rome, but of the veteran rulers of the Papal world, of the mighty Jesuit order, of the curia, of the supreme pontiff himself.

It is against this present persistence in the old policy that Father Curci lifts up his voice in protest. Of its prevalence before 1870 he prudently says nothing: he would himself have too much to recant. But the pursuance of it, now that the Pope has no crown to defend, he denounces in no measured terms as a flying in the face of Providence, a fanatical and fatal obstinacy, the responsibility of which, however, he dexterously lays upon a superficial "current" whose noisy swirl and froth have nothing to do with the deep underflow of the Divinely-guided counsels of the Church. The reasons on which his denunciations are based, the policy he would himself substitute for that which he condemns, the feasibility and probable consequences of the one and the other, we shall take occasion to expound and discuss before closing this article. But there is a preliminary subject that we purpose treating at some length, and that is the character and career of the author himself. The opinions advanced by Father Curci, and, even more than the opinions, the style of acrimonious invective in which they are clothed, can be understood only in the light of his own personal history. Nor does he claim our criticism merely as the exponent of what we may call the party of opposition within the Church of Rome. His place in modern Italian literature is no mean one; and his works of Biblical translation and exegesis are sufficiently exceptional and important to merit a passing estimate. On these grounds, a somewhat extended account of the principal facts connected with the ex-Jesuit's personal story and literary activity will not be lacking either in interest or instruction.

Carlo Maria Curci's name first came prominently before the public some thirty-six years ago, in connection with the Jesuit controversy stirred up by the celebrated Vincenzo Gioberti. Orator, philosopher, and politician, this eloquent Turinese priest had already acquired a great name throughout the peninsula, when from his exile in Brussels he published a second edition of his brilliant dream on the *Primacy of Italy*, prefixing to it a thick volume of

*Prolegomena*, the greater part of which consisted of a fierce invective against the Order of Loyola. The attack was delivered in that style of copious and effective rhetoric of which Gioberti was so great a master. Discharging as it did in a fiery storm the suspicion and hatred of the Order which ever since its re-establishment in 1815 had been accumulating in the atmosphere of Europe, the book made a great impression. It provoked many replies, but the champion who took up the glove thrown down by the redoubted Piedmontese was Carlo Maria Curci, then some thirty-five or thirty-six years of age, and residing in the Company's house in Naples. Challenged to sustain his charges by facts, and goaded by the dexterous fence of his adversary, Gioberti followed up his attack by the publication of his *Modern Jesuit*, and close upon the heels of that his *Apology*—in all six closely-printed octavos. Terrible was the sweep of his two-handed blade; yet nothing daunted, Curci returned to the encounter, and with his sharp-pointed logical rapier and his clever *bottes de Jésuite*, parried many a blow and found out not a few weak places in his foeman's armour. When Father Curci's rejoinder was published—it also a bulky work in two volumes, bearing the title of a *Divination*—the tables had been turned, Gioberti was the popular tribune of Piedmont, and the Jesuit an exile in Paris.

No one would care now to wade through a controversy that extended over thirteen weary volumes, nor would it be worth our while to pause a moment for the purpose of raking among its extinct embers, were it not for the striking points of comparison it presents with the later polemics of our author. All the charges brought by Father Curci against the "zealots" of to-day may be found, count for count, in the terrible pages of his quondam antagonist. When the ex-Jesuit calls the party of his opponents a "superfetation" on Catholicism, that to the scandal of the world would pass itself off for Catholicism itself; when he accuses it of compromising the Church's infallible Head by its noisy and presumptuous abuse of his name; when he lays to its door the ever-widening breach between the Church and State in Italy; when he lashes its jealous ostracism of genius, and elevation to power and dignity of mediocrities, provided they can use glibly the shibboleths of the faction; when he notes among its characteristics or effects the decadence of robust studies in the seminaries,

the passion for the new and morbid in rite and dogma, the substitution of sterile ceremonies for acts of piety, and the consequent enfeebling of the religious fibre especially in the young; when he finds the root of all this evil in the greed and ambition that cling, at any sacrifice of higher interests, to worldly good; he does but reproduce the very indictment that five-and-thirty years ago he himself so fiercely repudiated. Indeed, the exchange of parts between the actors of then and now seems even to be carried down to the characteristics of style; the Curci of to-day reminding one not a little of the copiousness and vehemence of his former antagonist; and the "Father of the Company," who now acts the part of the Curci of old, replying with the same cool and vicious fence that goaded Gioberti to fury, and, it may be added, with much the same result. In shifting parts the actors seem to have changed clothes.

One can hardly believe the above correspondences, of which the list might be greatly extended, to be altogether accidental. It is not improbable that the close study of Gioberti's accusations against the Order sharpened the Jesuit's recognition of the very defects he had repudiated, when once the cooling of his first love had made him capable of detecting defects. Unconsciously to himself he had been inoculated with the Giobertian virus, and, when the season favoured its development, the contagion appeared.

Still, if it were so, it must be admitted that the virus long lay dormant. During many years Curci was known to the Italian public only as the ready and somewhat petulant mouthpiece of anti-national clericalism. The highwater mark of this phase of his history is perhaps touched by a pamphlet published by him in Paris in 1849, and entitled, with defiant frankness, "*Italian Demagogy and the Pope-King. By a Retrograde.*" Here may be found the concentrated essence of that reactionary creed with which we are all familiar, and the crudest putting of that perfidious logic by which we are wont to hear it sustained. To bind together in a common bundle constitutional freedom and atheistic communism, a nation's revolt against tyranny and the conspiracy of a faction against legitimate rule, liberty of worship and the overthrow of the altar, the free examination of human creeds and the rejection of Divine revelation, Cavour and Proudhon, Luther and Voltaire; to make one name of reproach—Democracy or Demagogy, or



Liberalism or Revolution—serve for the whole composite idea ; to exhaust the vocabulary of horror in depicting the excesses of its worst elements, yet throw the discredit of every part upon the whole by the fiction of the common name, so that it may be clear that the motto of the Reformation was *Écrasez l'Infame*, and that popular representation is sure to end in Robespierre's Reign of Terror or Napoleon's whiff of grape-shot, such has long been the safe and easy method of reasoning adopted by the reactionary school, and in his disgraceful Paris pamphlet Father Curci certainly showed himself to be no mean master in the use of it. By such a method it is, of course, not difficult for him to show that one and the same execrable principle was born with Lucifer, and descended through Cain and Nimrod, and Judas and Mahomet, and Luther and Voltaire, down to Proudhon and Mazzini. As for the temporal power, no zealot of the *Civiltà Cattolica* ever showed more triumphantly its Divine origin, its beneficent working in Italy, and its cardinal importance for the interests of truth and of mankind at large. On every page of the book we meet with one and another of those astounding fallacies or perversions of fact, over which, in reading productions of the same school, we have so often had to rub our eyes and ask whether we are awake or in a bad dream. With the mighty upheaval and agony of Italy in 1848, the nation itself had nothing to do ; it was all the work of a "rabble of exiles and foreigners, of witlings and starvelings, resembling the putrid sea-weed that comes to the surface in a storm." Rome at the same epoch yielded to the republic as the traveller yields his purse to the assassin. The great mass of the English people is the most wretched of all peoples that breathe on the face of the earth ; in Ireland the inhabitants "ordinarily" die of hunger ; so that the *Rev. Mr. Malthus proposes that Parliament should pass a Bill to rectify the error of Providence in creating too many souls to be saved, and too many bodies to be fed.\** In fact, if you want to see true civilisation, you must go to Rome ; if barbarism, to London. Railways, steamboats, gas, and telegraphs are but signs of "material" progress, and are therefore not to be compared as national blessings with the daily dole at the convent door, or the privilege of

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\* The last statement is really to be found in Curci's *Divination*, not in his *Demagogia* ; but the two works bear almost the same date.



climbing the holy staircase in condonation of your sins ! But the spirit of the pamphlet may be best judged from the five points essential to all good government, with the statement of which it closes. These are, the appointment of his ministers by the monarch himself, the absolute prohibition of popular demonstrations, a "vigorous, severe, and unrelaxing repression of the press," so that any attack on "the holiness of religion or the legitimacy of power" may "cost" the assailant "dear," the suppression of all clubs and popular circles, and, finally, the perfect freedom of the Church and its endowments from State interference, and the handing over to it of the education of youth and of the administration of public charities. Blessed is the people that is in such a case ! thought and wrote Father Curci in 1849 ; he had evidently some ground to traverse before he could pose as a Liberal Catholic and leader of the party of conciliation.

We next find Curci engaged in the foundation of the well-known periodical, the *Civiltà Cattolica*. He now affects bitter regret for having given birth to such a firebrand, and writes with pious causticity about accepting the maltreatment he has had to suffer from his offspring as some atonement for his fault in inflicting it upon the world. But we question whether in the eyes of history the most important and lasting monument of our author's literary activity will not be just this ill-conditioned child of his. The principal organ of the Jesuit Order, whatever capacity the Company has possessed for the last thirty years, has been concentrated upon its pages. It is now Father Curci's cue to decry both its ability and its influence, in order to make good his case against his opponents as a faction of shallow zealots, whose ascendancy is maintained by flattery and bluster ; but no one who remembers the position conceded to the *Civiltà Cattolica* before and during the Vatican Council, as exponent and guide of the dominant policy, will give much weight to the ex-editor's contemptuous abuse.

Father Curci's reminiscences of the genesis and early days of the Jesuit organ have a deeper interest than that of mere literary gossip. It was towards the close of 1849, while Pius IX. was still an exile, that Curci, with his Giobertian laurels yet fresh upon him, betook himself to Portici, where the Pope was residing, and, having been received "with singular benevolence," broached the "idea

of a periodical altogether written for the present state of Italy," and in form and "material conditions" such precisely as the *Civiltà Cattolica* subsequently became. It was not the first time our zealous *littéraire* had made the suggestion, but hitherto he had met with small encouragement. A brother at Paris had stigmatised the project as a *bêtise*, and a superior in Rome as "an impossible phantasy." But Pius IX. was a man of facile enthusiasms, and, Curci's idea striking his fancy, he forthwith ruled that the thing should be done, and that Curci was the man to do it. He even went so far as to overrule by a positive injunction the repugnance of the General of the Order, Father John Roothaan, the reason of whose distrust of the project sounds at first either astoundingly naïve or brazenly hypocritical. The good father, we are told, did not conceal from his Holiness that "the chief reason of his reluctance was his fear of the harm that might come to the Order from *meddling with politics!*" But a little reflection will show that the expression is elliptical, and that what is meant is meddling *ostensibly* with politics. And indeed there can be no doubt that the wary old man understood the maxims of his Order, and foresaw the probable consequences of a departure from them far better than any such Hotspur of the pen as Curci, or than Pius IX. himself. The political wire-pulling of the Jesuits had ever been done behind the scenes: to step out upon the stage and *audibly* prompt the actors was a novel and dubious step. Old jealousies were sure to be revived, and influence to be lost by the unveiling of its secret springs. However, the general yielded, in spite of his misgivings, and the periodical was set afloat. The earliest staff of contributors was a very notable one. Taparelli d'Azeglio, uncle of the more famous Massimo, and Matteo Liberatore, in philosophy and political economy, Giambattista Piaciani in natural science, and Antonio Bresciani in literature and romance, were pens that would have given celebrity to a similar undertaking in any age or country; and it is the proudest feather in Father Curci's cap, that he was considered not unworthy to be the chief of such a band. The first number, published in Naples in April, 1850, was presented to Pius IX. on his return journey from Naples to Rome. On the transfer of the periodical to the latter city in the following year, it became the custom for the editor in person, on the day preceding the publi-

cation of each number, to lay one copy before the Pope, and another before the Secretary of State. On these occasions, occurring twice a month, the subjects treated in the number were discussed, often for an hour or more, with the pontiff and his all-powerful minister; and it is easy to see what a channel for the reciprocal communication both of information and influence was thus opened between the Order and the Vatican authorities. That the compilers of the magazine were in special grace and confidence with the Holy See after 1870, Curci himself admits; it suits his theory of a late-born fanatical faction, dominating by intrigue, to do so. He even becomes somewhat spitefully garrulous upon the subject, narrating how the "Monsignorini" of the Vatican would sometimes meet him in the palace the day after one of the fortnightly issues, "all radiant with joy," to congratulate him on the "marvellous article, read the evening before, on the infallible and imminent restoration of the temporal power;" how their praises would grate on his ears and smite his conscience with "a kind of remorse," and how disgust and remorse would change "almost to terror" when, on being received by the Pope, he would find his Holiness "profoundly impressed by the same writings, *which perhaps he had never read*, and knew only by second-hand eulogy." Like the Byzantine theologians at the Court of Constantinople, who "were spinning sophisms to feed the blind faith of the palace, while the Turks were at the gates of the capital," so these "aulic professors of the philosophy of history," and of the "higher politics of the day," fanned, and are still fanning, the false hopes of the dispossessed masters of Rome, not indeed, "thank God, in the presence of Turks who are seeking to come in, but of Italians who show no disposition to go out." Whole pages of this sort of thing are to be found in Curci's pamphlet; and we may accept his testimony to the confidential relations existing between the *Civiltà* and the Vatican, without endorsing the date he assigns to their origin, or the intrinsic insignificance he would ascribe to the party of which the periodical is the organ. Only the necessity the ex-Jesuit is under of explaining the recent date of his own breach with his Order, and his wrath against the men who have cast him out, could have led him to represent the influence of the *Civiltà* at the Vatican as a sudden result of the loss of the temporal power, and the work of a few intriguing courtiers. The

fact is, that ever since 1849 the Jesuit policy has ruled the Curia; and when once the powerful Order, departing, be it remembered, from its immemorial system of working behind the scenes, consented to have a high-class, politico-religious, semi-official organ, such as the *Civiltà Cattolica*, it was inevitable that that organ, opening on the one hand a channel of communication between the Order and the Vatican, by which inspiration could be mutually given and received, and on the other a channel of utterance between these combined powers and the Catholic world, should at once rivet Jesuit influence on the Papacy, and become the most authoritative exponent to mankind of the principles and measures of the Holy See itself.

Curci retained the editorship of the *Civiltà* for seven years, and for some nine years longer was a contributor to its pages. Since then, according to his own statement, he has not only never written for the journal, but has not even read it; on which declaration his opponents remark that the former part is undoubtedly true, and the latter may be.

The circumstances that led to the rupture are very differently related by the two parties concerned. Curci himself writes on the subject at once vaguely and maliciously; vaguely, in ascribing his separation to the degeneracy of the periodical into "an instrument of party and of private interests;" and maliciously in adding to this reason the debasement of its literary quality, there being left of the original staff only "one writer and a scribbler," and the idea prevailing that "the office must necessarily confer the capacity." His opponents retort that the breach had nothing to do with "doctrines, opinions, or the scope and spirit of the journal," but was simply and purely a personal quarrel; and at the same time somewhat inconsistently accuse him of having endangered the very existence of the magazine by certain intemperate articles of his against the King and Government of Naples. It would not be worth the pains to attempt to harmonise these conflicting statements; but it is of importance to note that this squabble of journalists was the beginning of the wide breach that to-day separates Father Curci from the authorities of his Church. This was the "little rift within the lute" that, "slowly widening," has since disturbed the public ear with such loud discords. Not that the public ear had caught either harmony or discord at the time we

are now writing of. The anonymous character of the *Civiltà*, and of the Order it represented, long kept the secret of these domestic strifes and changes. Nor did Curci for several years yet openly deviate from the recognised policy of the Vatican. He rather sought notoriety in being more exceedingly zealous than many of his equals in his own Order for the maintenance of the temporal power. It is a fair retort upon him made by his adversaries that long after his separation from them he remained a "rare type of those old zealots" he now so liberally vituperates. It was he who after 1870 founded and organised the so-called Roman Society for Catholic Interests (*Società Romana per gli Interessi Cattolici*). In 1871, so energetic was his zeal, that "after infinite labour, and with the aid of 200 brave youths of the above society," he managed to collect, from "Romans by birth or domicile," 27,101 signatures to a protest in favour of the "violated rights of the Pope," associating thus the name of Carlo Maria Curci with the only document that history will be able to show in evidence that the temporal power of the Pope fell regretted by any considerable section of the Roman people. About the same epoch, moreover, being Lent preacher in the Church of the Gesù in Rome, he fanned to such fury the hot passions of the time by his intemperate diatribes against the new order of things, and especially by one insulting phrase which was interpreted, perhaps misinterpreted, as flung at the beloved princess who now shares the throne of Italy, that the two parties came there and then to blows, and the Government had to put a stop to the services. Indeed, so notorious was Curci at this time as a leader of the reactionary party, and so cordially distrusted and hated on that account, that when, in the year following, he attempted to establish in Pisa a sort of clerical college in which Catholic youths were to have board, lodgings, and *religious oversight* while pursuing their studies at the national university, the students took the law into their own hands, and smashed up the whole project in a popular tumult. Yet all this time the little rift was widening. Curci had quarrelled personally and bitterly with men to whom the policy he and they were both supposed to represent was as the very breath of life; it was not to be wondered at that he should soon begin to quarrel with the policy itself. It was noted and complained of that in his frequent changes of residence as a popular preacher, he would never lodge in one of the houses of

the Company, but accepted in preference the parish manse or the hospitality of a layman. His *Roman Society for Catholic Interests* was eyed askance, and there can be little doubt that it was an anti-Jesuit move. The ecclesiastics who co-operated with him in its formation were no friends of the Order. The freeness of some of his criticisms on the so-called policy of *expectation* began to excite remark. But more especially was his Pisa College looked upon as a dubious innovation, a coquetting with danger, a compromise between Christ and Belial; and the sudden collapse of the project was hardly a greater satisfaction to the liberal youngsters who broke it up to shouts of "Down with the Jesuits!" than it was to the long-headed fathers of the Order themselves. It was plain that the combustion was getting nearer to the surface, and would soon break through the thin crust of decorum that kept it hid from the public eye.

Many circumstances in fact contributed, in these one or two critical years, to bring about the change in Father Curci's sentiments as to the policy of his Church. His roaming life as a popular preacher enabled him to test the depth and strength of the tide of national feeling that had overswept and effaced the old order of things. His prolonged visits to such centres of broader life as Milan and Turin, and his intimacy with the more liberal Lombard clergy, would bring him into frequent contact with opinions vastly different from those which alone found favour at the Vatican. His Pisa project, to which abundant support had been guaranteed in "professors, pupils, and pecuniary means," must also have hastened the conversion of which it was already a prophecy, by drawing closer his relations with men to whom the idea of a compromise was familiar and welcome. Something, too, must be set down to the score of temperament, to a certain vehement volubility and restless love of notoriety which Curci's career would seem to attest as belonging to his character.

It was in 1874 that this change of front came overtly before the public. Curci had been delivering in one of the churches of Florence a series of discourses, exegetical and moral, on the Gospels: these he now gave to the press with explanatory notes. The two first volumes only appeared that year; three others followed in the year ensuing. To the first issue the author prefixed a long prefatory essay under the title of "Reason of the Work"



(*Ragione dell' Opera*), since published in a separate form. It is in this preface that he for the first time ventilates his new ideas, and opens fire on his former associates. That he should avail himself for this purpose, both now and subsequently in his Commentary, of the *Prolegomena* of a work hardly correlate to the subject, looks very like a reminiscence of Gioberti's method thirty years before, and would seem to give some support to our hypothesis of a sort of unconscious inoculation with Giobertian ideas. We need not tarry now to discuss the opinions advanced in the *Ragione dell' Opera*. We shall meet them again in far fuller development and franker utterance in the subsequent pamphlets of our author. Still, the publication of these *Prolegomena* mark the turning point in his life. Though as yet moderate in tone, and here and there hesitating in outline, his future programme is substantially before us. That the loss of the temporal power has been a providential dispensation, that it will never return *as before*, that the "expectation" of its re-establishment and the policy thence resulting is ruinous to the Church, that the secret springs whence this expectation is fed are the greed and ambition of worldly ecclesiastics, that the only cure for such evils is the return to the first principles of Christianity, and that herein lies "the reason" of the present publication—these are the leading ideas of the essay, and the subsequent works of our author are but amplified and more vehement sermons on the same text. There is much too of that pose of martyrdom, more whining however than dignified, which more than anything else weakens one's sympathy with Father Curci. He forebodes the ire and rancour his frankness will provoke: howbeit, the time has come when some one must speak out; so he offers himself as the victim for Azazel; may only his vicarious sufferings avert the catastrophe of the Church, and obtain for himself merit in the eyes of Heaven!

The writer's forebodings were, however, scarcely justified as yet. He received a letter of mild reproof from the General of the Order; the distrust and fear of him already entertained by the party in power were no doubt deepened; but the Catholic journals kept silence, and no action was taken which could excite scandal in the outside world. But his next step provoked far more bitter resentments, and resulted eventually in an explosion which made the breach public and irreparable.



The remaining volumes of the *Moral and Exegetical Lessons* were published in 1875. It was the author's intention to prefix to them another introductory essay, in which his views on the questions of the day should be expressed in a more emphatic and concrete form. But "a distinguished prelate," to whom he communicated his ideas, advised him not to publish matters so delicate in the market-place; but rather to submit them privately to the Holy Father. Putting them together, therefore, "in great haste,"—it is curious how all Curci's works are accompanied with the apology of precipitation,—he had four or five printed copies struck off for the accommodation of "aged eyes," and consigned one of them, together with a "humble letter" and the new volume of the *Lessons*, into the hands of a cardinal for presentation to the Pope.

This memorial to Pius IX., which fell under the eyes of the public, as we shall see, some two years later, is surely one of the most astounding pieces of folly that a man of ability, posing as a leader of national opinion on a great question, ever perpetrated. Let it be admitted that the writer has since retracted the "irreverence" of the paper "in form," and even "in substance the part that relates to the mode of practically carrying out his ideas;" still it is none the less true that this was the Curcian programme in 1875, solemnly formulated after years of incubation in a document laid at the feet of the highest ecclesiastical authority. Let the clericals attach what value they please to the writer's retractations; Italian liberals should note well that those retractations are made simply on the ground that the programme is "Utopian," and in no wise as confessing it to be a perfidious conspiracy against all that the nation has won through years of suffering and blood. For the significance of Father Curci's manifesto lies, not in the compromises it suggests on the part of the Papacy, but in the designs it unveils against the liberties of Italy. And until these designs are repudiated not as impracticable merely, but as unpatriotic and traitorous, not because they could never succeed but because they ought never to have been cherished, until there has been some evidence on the part of their proposer, not of change of tactics merely but of change of intention, Italians would do well to read all subsequent proposals of Carlo Curci in the light of his memorial to Pius IX.

But let us come to the document itself. After a little

moaning, as usual, about the ill-will of enemies and the pusillanimity of friends, who, though sharing his opinions, are cowed into silence, the writer confirms, but with a sharper dogmatism, the opinions laid down in the *Ragione dell' Opera*, viz., that the temporal power, *as it was*, is gone for ever, and that the fanatical expectation of its return is doing fatal mischief to the Church. The evils of this expectation are then enlarged upon: one being that Italy, abandoning its natural alliance with Catholic France, will throw itself into the arms of Germany; and thus the heretical-Teutonic element will predominate in the West of Europe, and join hands with the schismatic-Slav element in the East—with what consequences to the Catholic-Latin element the reader may judge for himself. These premises laid down, the writer proceeds to business. If the temporal power in the form we know it is a thing of the past, there is nothing for it but to secure the Pope an independent sovereignty *sui generis*, corresponding to the new order of things. With the men who have usurped the present government of Italy this is impossible, but these men are not Italy. The true Italy is Catholic; and with the aid of Catholic Italy these men and their government may be sent to perdition (*alla malora*), and the Church and nation delivered from so terrible a scourge. But to attain this end some concessions must be made. Italy must be recognised as it stands, “loyally and without ulterior views.” The King and his dynasty must also be recognised—*on condition that they reign as Christians*. To this must be added the recognition of the *statuto* of Charles Albert, the first article of which, however (that the Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the State), must become a reality, and a *norm for the interpretation, application, and, if necessary, modification of the rest*. Of the present order of things these are the only parts acceptable; and they must be accepted.

Over an Italy thus constituted must be assigned to the Pope a sovereignty such as shall secure his full independence, not illusory as that of the guarantees, “but true, and most real, though high, very broad and chiefly moral.” The manner of it must be studied, discussed, and harmonised; for the present enough to say that its principal elements must be: 1. The continuance of the King, on whom an authority must be conferred as from God, not from the people; 2. The conferment on the Pope

of a legal and efficient veto on *all laws contrary to religion and morality*; 3. Such an adjustment of the relations between the King and the Pope that the latter shall be worthily constituted as the sovereign, not of Rome only, but of Italy.

The motives why Italy should consent to such a conciliation are such and so potent, that none but the Intransigents will object. Her unity—now threatened every day with dismemberment—will thus be secured. The Latin race with the Pope at its head, and probably supported by England for her own interests (*she knows no other*), will be able to make head against the shock of Teuton and Slav. Otherwise Germany, after making use of Italy to crush France, will in its turn swallow up Italy itself.

And now how is all this to be effected? "The Pope and King having come to an understanding, the King must dissolve the Chambers, dismiss his present Ministers, and choose *Christian men* in their place, Piedmontese for the most part." For some months he must reign without a Parliament, and in this interim *modifications must be made in the administrative staff throughout Italy*. Meanwhile also a Christian press must illuminate the people. "*As to the opposition of the streets,—there is the army!*" When all is thus prepared, the general elections can be held; and, by the united influence of Church and Government, that working through the rural priests, this through the modified prefectures and municipalities, a "*Christian*" Parliament may be secured. And then—"you may do what you will." (*Si farebbe quello che si vuole.*)

This is a programme with something positive about it, very different from the barren *expectation* of the zealots. To-day, with Pius IX. and Victor Emmanuel, and with a Catholic party yet strong among the nobility and in the villages, such an accord is practicable; with the lapse of every year difficulties will multiply. Should it be put off until it is too late, the responsibility will lie with the "*faction*," of whom some are in good faith; but the majority are zealots by calculation, who fan the flame of fanaticism for sordid interests, and laugh at the conflagration they raise. These are the men who pretend to receive their inspiration from the Vatican, while in truth it is rather the Vatican that receives its inspiration from them; for they have almost taken out a monopoly of the Pontifical

Infallibility. And so the Catholics, more distant from the centre, are cowed into silence, which again is interpreted as assent ; and one who has ventured to speak out for the love of God and His Church is made to pay dearly for the audacity, not of having broken that silence, but of having merely alluded to its existence.

We have given a somewhat full and altogether accurate *résumé* of this letter, not only on account of its critical importance in the life of the writer, but because it shows what a true Catholic, even of an advanced school, means by a policy of conciliation. The sketch is all the more legible for being thrown off in haste and with a very blunted pen. And be it remembered that whatever recantation there has been, has been as towards the Vatican and not as towards Italy. We shall have to deal with other expositions of the Curcian policy, far more copious in discussion and invective ; and sometimes perhaps, in detecting the drift of the word-beclouded argument, we may find of service the first coarse etching contained in the memorial to Pius IX. But it is time we took up again the thread of our story.

Such an address from any subject to any monarch would have been offensive enough ; but from a simple ecclesiastic to a dispossessed Pope-King, and that Pope Pius IX., it must have been felt as a galling impertinence. In fact, the Pope complained of it with bitter indignation to the Father-General of the Order, styling it a piece of "insolence ;" and the General wrote in consequence to his wayward son, reproving him sharply for his arrogance and presumption. But Curci was incorrigible. A few months after a satirical squib appeared in Florence, under the title of *The Political Abstentions of the Fifth and Twelfth November, 1876, Celebrated in Prose and Verse*, ostensibly from the pen of a young village priest in the diocese of Fiesole. But as Curci had been for some months the guest of the author, it was plain enough under whose inspiration, if not by whose hand, the *brochure* was written. The squib took ; the public caught a rumour of scandal on the wind, and pricked up its ears for more. Yet even now there was a moment in which it seemed possible that the storm might spend itself as a mere ecclesiastical quarrel, without agitating the profane world outside. Forbidden by his superiors to fulfil an engagement to preach in Milan during the Lent of 1877, and understanding that the inhi-

bition had the formal approval of the Pope—it was even referred to him that the Pope had said that with such fellows one must deal as Cato did with Carneades, an aptness of classical allusion for which with no stretch of courtesy can we credit Pius IX.—Father Curci fell into “a certain melancholy;” and in his lowness of spirits wrote a most humble letter to the Pope, beseeching his paternal forgiveness, and promising never again to give him reason of disquietude. The result was that the ban was removed, and the good Catholics of Milan were not deprived of the ministrations of the popular orator.

In fact, the catastrophe was at last brought about by an incident with which neither Curci nor the Jesuit authorities had anything to do. Through the imprudence of a clerk in the bureau of Cardinal Antonelli, the memorial to Pius IX. fell into the hands of the editor of the *Rivista Europea*, and was published by that magazine in its number for March, 1877. Once caught up by the secular press, it was soon reproduced by the daily papers, and became the subject of universal attention and discussion. The public scandal so long avoided had now come, and the affair had to be dealt with accordingly. The private retractations that sufficed for a domestic dissension, were insufficient now that the dissension was blazoned before the world. Poor Father Beckx had therefore again to take up his pen, and this time to “enjoin and order,” that the offender “reprobate and condemn” the document in question, “with all the maxims and principles contained in it,” retracting moreover anything and everything he had ever said or written, publicly or privately, “contrary to the prescriptions and dispositions of the Holy See, to the propositions of the *Syllabus* or the other acts emanating from the supreme ecclesiastical authority, and that, imploring pardon for his past culpable temerity, he promise never again for the future, either by word or writing, either in public or private, to manifest similar ideas and opinions, save for the purpose of reprobating and condemning them.”

To this terrible requisition Curci refused to conform; and then followed a complicated series of negotiations, recounted from both points of view with subtle distinctions and hot recriminations, and curious variations of the lie circumstantial and the lie direct, in the pamphlet war to which the affair gave rise. It is plain that both parties were very loth to push matters to the last extremity. To

Curci the habits and associations of fifty years made expulsion from the Order appear an insupportable ignominy. The authorities of the Order, on the other hand, shrank from the popular odium of such action taken for such a cause. Various formulas of recantation were proposed and rejected. Curci went in person to Rome to discuss terms of compromise with Cardinal Simeoni, the new Secretary of State. At one time the only hitch at which the question stuck lay in the words, "nor in private;" and even these Curci went so far as to add in one interview, but returned next day to withdraw. At length Curci wrote to the Father General: "Since my separation from the Order seems inevitable, it would give me less pain if your Paternity would effect it spontaneously and not at my request; without my being obliged to have recourse to the Sacred Congregation. . . . I should prefer not to leave Rome till the affair is concluded; so be so good as to settle it with all speed possible." This was on the 16th of October: on the 22nd General Beckx wrote out with his own hand the sentence of dismissal, *basing it, however, on Curci's own request*. The whole letter displays consummate tact and wariness. Every word is weighed, so as to put the offender in the wrong. We do not wonder, as we read it, at the admiration with which the Jesuit champions attest that the correspondence with Curci was entirely composed and written by the General himself, who, "though octogenarian, retains still the limpid intellect of a young man." With so old and cool a hand, poor hot-headed Curci had but little chance.

In the angry discussion of these transactions which has ever since been going on between the parties, two chief points of contention are raised. The one is, whether Curci was expelled from the Order, or whether he withdrew of his own accord. The Jesuit writers are very anxious to exonerate the Order from the odium of his expulsion. He had been unimpeachable both in doctrine and morality. He was one of the best-known ecclesiastics in Italy, and on the point at issue his was supposed to be pre-eminently the patriotic view. It was, moreover, dubious whether any rule of the Order precisely covered his case. Hence the insistency with which his opponents contend that the Order was *passive* in the final act, simply conceding a demand for separation, not promulgating a sentence of expulsion. And in fact Curci played his cards ill. He had



but to entrench himself in his refusal to retract on the terms proposed, and his adversaries must either have compromised or have actively cast him out. But with his petulant request that "the very slender thread" that yet "bound" him to the Order might be "severed," and especially with his threat in case of delay of an appeal to "the Sacred Congregation," he furnished a plausible pretext to the astute old General, in formulating the terms of dismissal, to say that "there only remained to him the sad necessity of *yielding to his unhappy son's desire*, and according, in the name of God and by the authority of his Holiness, the *requested separation*." Sheer hypocrisy, no doubt; the good father knew that Curci no more meant to ask for dismissal than does the choleric servant (it is Curci's own comparison) who, on being reproved, exclaims in a pet, "Then send me away, and have done with it!" But if the choleric servant is taken at his word, can he say that he did not give notice to quit?

The second point relates to the action taken by the Pope himself in this final act of the drama. Father Curci is very jubilant over certain words uttered by Cardinal Simeoni "with a very expressive manner and particular emphasis" in their last interview. They are to the effect that "in this affair everything has been remitted to the judgment of the General, the holy Father having had nothing to do with the matter, and having issued no order whatever respecting it." Curci, who prints the words in small capitals, seems to consider that they give him a sort of plenary indulgence for all he has done, is doing, and will do. His adversaries contend that, *if quoted correctly*, they referred only to a certain prohibition to preach at Turin, of which he had just been speaking with the Cardinal; and that the whole procedure of the Order had notoriously the fullest sanction and approval of the pontiff. To us the meaning of the words seems perfectly clear. Curci's interpretation of them is simply absurd. That the action of the Order in his dismissal was taken in concert with the Holy Father there can be no doubt. But at the same time the Holy Father, or his advisers, did intend that the odium of the transaction should rest with the Order and not with them. It was in fact no business for discussion in the bureau of the Secretary of State. Cardinal Simeoni did no doubt accentuate his words very clearly, and meant it to be fully understood that the dirty linen of



the company must be washed at home, and not at the Vatican. The washing had his entire approbation, but he was peremptory about the place.

It was at the end of October that Father Curci's separation from the Company took place; and in the December of the same year appeared his famous book, entitled "The Modern Dissension between the Church and Italy" (*Il Moderno Dissidio tra la Chiesa e l'Italia*), in which the whole transaction was carried before the tribunal of public opinion. We have the usual apology (or is it a vaunt?) for haste; the whole work, a large octavo of 240 pages, having been "conceived, written, and carried through the press in fifty days;" and subsequently the author complains, with his usual sensitiveness, that this "gift of God, be its value what it may," had been made occasion of the calumny that he had the book already prepared at the time of his separation. In the *Modern Dissension* Curci fully sets forth his contention with his adversaries, both historically and apologetically. Of the autobiographic portions of the book, filled in and corrected by the controversy that followed, we have availed ourselves in the preceding narration; the apologetic chapters we will consider a little further on in connection with his more recent work on the same subject. Meantime, it will be well to dispose of one or two other personal facts, the more so as they will give us the opportunity of estimating our author's claims in his new character of a Biblical translator and exegete.

Forbidden the exercise of his public ministry, Curci gave up his enforced leisure to the preparation of a Commentary on the New Testament, accompanied by a new version of the text. It was a wise thing of him, with his restless avidity of work and impatience under hostile criticism, to seek distraction in some absorbing literary occupation; and, to do him justice, he seems to have pursued his Biblical studies with genuine enthusiasm and delight. At any rate, he must surely have been, during these months, a man of one book. Yet not even that, nor the tremendous amount of "go" which the good father evidently possesses, would be sufficient to account for the phenomenal rapidity with which the work was thrown off. There enters also, we fear, into the explanation a haste of composition utterly inconsistent with real excellence. The first two volumes, thick quartos, appeared in the summer of 1879; the last,

comprising all the Epistles, in the autumn of 1880: a new version of the entire New Testament with a copious commentary, and two bulky prefatory essays, composed, written and printed, as the author himself affirms, in the space of *thirty months!*

It would have required a miracle of genius to produce within such limits of time a great original work; and even a valuable compilation could only have been put together by one who had but to bring out and arrange the garnered fruit of a lifetime of research. But Father Curci is neither a genius nor a veteran Biblical scholar. He himself confesses that the Epistles of Paul were only known to him as it were in their outside wrappings until he came to study them for annotation. No one can read his Commentary without perceiving how limited and how secondhand is his repertory of reference. And as to his Greek, there is, without doubt, a fair show of it, too much perhaps, in the notes; but we fear that what is correct is borrowed, and we are sure that what is not borrowed is very often far from correct.\* The result is such as to justify the pungent remark of a hostile critic: "The value of writings is always proportionate to the pains bestowed upon them. Let Curci give back to Maldonatus, A Lapide, and Patrizi what he has taken from them for his notes, and to Martini and Diodati what he has taken from them for his version; and there will be left him just the merit of a diligent compilation of thirty months; nothing more, save his own aberrations."

One of the most obvious blemishes of the work is its reckless philological inaccuracy. And we note this the rather because it is the custom of Catholic writers, at least in Italy, to depreciate the Biblical scholarship of modern Protestantism as a mere peddling over minute criticisms

\* In the preface to the first volume Curci illustrates the importance of translating from the original Greek and not from the Vulgate by two examples, both referring to the use or omission of the definite article. The first is Matthew ix. 13, where, says Curci, the translators render "I came not to call *the* righteous," instead of, as in the Greek, "I came not to call righteous (men)," the difference being, according to him, that the one expression supposes the existence of righteous men prior to the calling, and the other not! The other example is John xx. 22, where again the translators have, "Receive *the* Holy Ghost," not observing the absence of the article in the Greek, by which absence, says Curci, is indicated "a partial participation, to wit, the power to remit sins," and not *the* gift of the Spirit, which was not bestowed till the Pentecost. Let the reader consult Winer (*Dr. Moulton's Translation*), p. 151.

of text and grammar. In his *Ragione dell' Opera* Curci himself could write of "the dishonest havoc of the Word of God, made in the century of the so-called Reformation, by the arms of an ill-digested erudition and a captious philology;" and could contrast the security against error furnished to the orthodox expositor by the "authentic" version of the Vulgate, with the "gross sophisms" and "puerile prejudices" from which no mere philological erudition, "however vast and varied," can preserve "such as are separated from the Church." And though, since his recent studies have opened to his view the prodigious activity and to some extent the real value of "heterodox" exegesis, his language has become far more generously appreciative, still even in these later works he can speak of Diodati's "superstitious fidelity to the Greek," and tone down his eulogy of Protestant expositors by the qualifying remark that in Biblical "science, properly so called, whether through the temper of their intellects, or the inclemency of the skies under which they live (!), or their systems of philosophy, they cannot be judged with equal favour." We are not going to defend here the necessity of accurate philological criticism as the basis of all true and honest exposition; nor to show how the eager fearlessness of Protestantism and the slackness and diffidence of Catholicism in exploring the literal sense of Holy Scripture, might be made to furnish a strong presumption for the fidelity of the one and the unfaithfulness of the other to the Divine Standard. But a more admonitory example of the consequences of a disregard for accurate philology in the interpretation of Scripture, than the New Version of Father Curci, we hardly know where to find. That the words cannot grammatically or etymologically bear the sense he would put upon them goes for nothing, if he thinks that he has hit upon the sacred writer's line of argument. Consistency in the rendering of identical words and phrases is not thought of. The subtle touches, the delicate differences of the plastic original, disappear in the coarse copy. As for the Greek particles and conjunctions, they are supposed to adapt themselves promiscuously to any transition of thought. And the translation by one and the same preposition of that concurrence of different ones so characteristic of the style of St. Paul, is actually justified in the notes on the plea that it was the Apostle's usage thus variously to express one common idea of relation!

In proof that these criticisms are not launched at random, we will examine a few verses taken at hazard from Curci's version. Let the passage be, for instance, the opening of the Epistle to the Romans, a portion of certainly not more than average difficulty, and, so far as we are aware, neither better nor worse rendered by our author than is his wont. We note in the outset that the same word, *κλητός*, is translated in verse 1 "constituted," in verse 6 "named," or perhaps "called" (*appellati*), and in verse 7 "rendered" or "made" (*resi santi*). In verse 4 we have the version "declared to be the Son of God, by the power of His works, by the spirit of sanctification and by the resurrection of the dead;" and this merging of the prepositions *ἐν*, *κατά*, and *ἐξ* in the one rendering "by," and the correlating of the clauses, is defended in the note on the ground of sense *versus* philology. In verse 5 we have the doubtful paraphrases "the grace of apostleship," and "to the end that all nations submit to the faith." In verse 8 the *quidem* of the Vulgate, foisted upon the original, is accentuated into "certainly" (*per fermo*). In verse 9, the second *ἐν* ("in the Gospel") is translated "according to." In verse 12 we have the curious rendering "to the end that I may have consolation of you through the faith which is reciprocally yours and mine." In verse 13, instead of "have fruit in you," we read "bring fruit among you." In verse 16 we have the needless variation "the power of God to the salvation of whoever believeth." But in verse 17 we have an inaccuracy that goes far deeper than any question of mere philology, those key-words of the whole Epistle, *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, being translated "the holiness of God," and the rendering defended in the notes. In the same verse we find the easy but impossible rendering "from faith to faith" in the sense of from one degree of faith to another. In verse 18 *γὰρ* is translated "on the contrary," and the rendering defended in the note as *giving better sense*; the latter part of the verse reads "upon the impiety ("all" being omitted) and wickedness of those who hinder the truth in unrighteousness." In verse 19 we have *διότι* translated "in fact," and *ἐν αὐτοῖς* "among them;" while the rendering of verse 20, if it does not alter the sense, savours more of paraphrase, and that an awkward one, than of translation. It runs thus: "For the invisible things of Him, His eternal power and His divinity, from the creation of the world, are conspicuous through the

understanding of His works." We need not proceed further; the examples given will suffice to show that a little of the critical severity of scholars who study "under more inclement skies" might have tempered to advantage the southern precipitation of our author's pen.

Nor can we like the style of the Version. It is altogether too modern, too Curcian, so to speak. The best thing, in fact, in the way of Biblical translation that could be done for Italy, would be to take the pure Tuscan of Diodati, and deal with it as the English revisers have dealt with our own noble Authorised Version—introduce, that is, the necessary corrections of advanced modern criticism, but harmonise, as far as possible, the new touches with the archaic mellowness of the original.

To the Commentary itself it would be unjust to deny a relative value. The hard side-hits at his opponents, delivered in incessant homilies on the dangers accruing to the Church from a spirit of greed and ambition, could well be dispensed with; and there is a verbosity in the author's style which might be pruned off to advantage. Even that which strikes a Protestant student as most original in the work, viz., the subtle dialectic distinctions, often taken from Thomas Aquinas, and sometimes the author's own, is sadly wanting in the Baconian element of *fruit*. And as to the rest of the notes—the part, that is, compiled from Protestant sources—it is rarely that the author has had access to works of the highest class, nor has he had the patience or the critical faculty to make the best use of those to which he has had access. It should not, moreover, be forgotten that Curci never deviates from Catholic orthodoxy. The jealous and hostile eye of the Congregation of the Index has been able to detect no flaw in the doctrine of his work. The specific dogmas of Roman Catholicism are, it is true, but rarely introduced, and, be it said to the author's praise, without rancorous controversy; but they are all there, and "heterodoxy" is controverted, and not always with fairness. Still, all these deductions made, so miserably poverty-stricken is Italian Biblical literature that we may welcome Curci's labours as a notable boon to his country. For a people that, during an entire century, has had no better vehicle, exempt from the ban of the Church, through which to read and study the Word of God, than Monsignor Martini's halting version and stale and meagre notes, the work before us is a feast

of fat things. We would willingly see it in a cheaper edition (the present cost is more than a pound sterling) and in a more portable shape; but we fear from Father Curci's lamentations over the indifference of the public and his own pecuniary loss in the venture, that the fulfilment of such an augury is yet a long way off.

We have more than once referred to the remarkable prefaces of this *magnum opus* of our author. It has indeed been upon these that the attention of readers, both native and foreign, has been fixed, far more than upon the work itself. And there can be no doubt but that these essays, both in the truth and error they contain, are exceedingly suggestive and instructive. We dare scarcely touch upon so large and tempting a theme. In them the author again expounds the "reason of his work." The "Christian conscience," a phrase which he defines at large, is, he tells us, in Italy all but extinguished. Here at the outset we are struck with the defectiveness of his view of the "Christian conscience." It is, according to him, the sense of the vanity and peril of earthly goods, and their postponement to the salvation of the soul. And so the parable of Dives and Lazarus becomes the great typical lesson for whosoever would form his conscience on the true Christian idea. Surely there is something deeper than this in the "Christian conscience," even that love to God and man against which there is no law, and to which "the world and the fulness thereof" are given "richly to enjoy," and to use in service to the Giver and mutual ministrations among the receivers of the gift. But let this pass; it is the error, not of Curci, but of his Church. This torpor of "the Christian conscience" our author lays in great part at the door of the Catholic clergy. Their loud and long-continued wailings over the diminished temporalities of the Church, their unappeasable expectation of the return of "things as they were," their multiplication of novel cults and rites by which the person and worship of Christ are ever more and more overlaid, their ignorance of Holy Scripture and neglect of its exposition in their public ministrations, these are among the chief causes that have long been operating, and still operate, to stifle all sense of religion in the heart of the Italian people. If the ex-Jesuit's portraiture of the condition of the Italian clergy is dark and depressing, his protest against the sickly appetite for the new and hysterical in devotion, which is



one of the worst symptoms of modern Catholicism, is manly and refreshing. Of the one he writes :

"It is useless dissembling. Here, too, fact is in utter variance with duty, that which is generally done with that which ought to be done ; for the New Testament is the book of all others least read and studied among us, so that the greater number of our laymen, even of those who believe the doctrines and practise the rites of the Church, do not so much as know that such a book exists, and most of the clergy themselves are only acquainted with those portions of it which they are obliged to read in the Breviary and Missal. . . It is true that on the Sunday, according to the Tridentine prescriptions, the Gospel for the day is expounded by the curate ; and there are dioceses in which the neglect of the duty for three successive weeks would involve *ipso facto* the suspension of the negligent priest *a divinis* ; so that now and then, at rare intervals, some Gospel facts and teaching are heard from the pulpit. But one who has had the opportunity of knowing for long years what a pitiable thing these expositions have become, will not wonder that the people should have already lost in great part, and should be losing every day more and more, all sense and savour of Christianity."—*Preface to New Testament*, pp. xix.-xxiii.

And of the other :

"Meanwhile to distract evermore the attention of the faithful from the adorable person of Christ, from all sides arise incessantly new devotions and new practices, which, finding always ardent advocates, never fail to draw after them numerous devotees, especially if the novelties come from the country which is wont to dictate the laws of female fashions. . . Once on a time the great solemnities of the Church were used as opportunities for instructing the people in the holy mysteries of Christianity ; but rarely are these now made subjects of catechesis or preaching, there being required for that purpose studies far more serious than those pursued to-day in the seminaries. On the contrary, as if for the very purpose of distracting attention from these great dogmas, it has become the custom precisely on such solemn festivals to take advantage of the larger concourse of people for the purpose of devoting ritual and preaching to some one of the new devotions, that of the freshest date taking the precedence, as in other fashions."—*Idem*, p. xx.

But for these ruinous evils what remedy ? Father Curci knows of but one ; and hence the reason of his labours as Biblical translator and exegete. Let every means be used to bring the Person and Work of Christ before the national eye and heart. Let Marie Alacoque and company stand aside and not intercept with their sickly shimmer the pure



glory of Him who is the light and life of men. In the place of the vacuous and fantastic fables of silly women and clerical Barnums, let the grand "old story" be heard which alike charms the little child and arrests and dominates the intellect in its prime. Let the glory of Mary herself be reflected from her Divine Son! We need not say in how far more sweeping a sense than our author himself would accept, we concur in his views, and how truly we wish God-speed to his Biblical labours, if they do but contribute in ever so small a degree to so desirable a consummation.\*

But we must return to Father Curci in his character of ecclesiastico-political leader, winding up this already over-long article with a brief exposition and discussion of the new policy he so passionately urges on the authorities of his Church.

His *Modern Dissension* provoked, as was to be expected, a reply from his opponents. The "Brief Examination" (*Breve Esame*), as it was entitled, was cool, terse, and cutting, dealt both with principles and facts, and was official, both as regards the *Civiltà Cattolica* and the Society of Jesus. Galled to the quick, Curci dashed off, there and then, an angry and complaining reply to the hardest hits, in a series of notes and an appendix to the second edition of his *Modern Dissension*, reserving himself to return to the main argument when his New Testament was off his hands. And, in fact, in June of the present year, under the title of *New Italy and Old Zealots*, appeared a second book, going over much the same ground with the *Modern Dissension*, but far less reverent towards the Papacy, and especially towards the last Pontificate, more courteous and conciliatory towards the new men and the new institutions of Italy, more sweeping in its admissions

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\* We are sorry to find from Curci's last pamphlet that his hopes in this respect have been signally disappointed. Of the reception of his Commentary he writes as follows: "The book, if it was not suffocated in the cradle, died as soon as born; save in Florence it attracted no attention. If I had published a commentary on the Koran, I should certainly have found more curious readers than I have found studious ones of the New Testament. . . Of the *Masters in Israel* there is not one that has even shown himself aware of the existence of the book. Left thus to itself, between so great an indifference on the one side, and such fierce hostility on the other, there is but one end possible for it, and that is the counters of the pork-shops; the natural destiny of the New Testament in a Catholic generation, kneaded and moulded like the present by Catholic journalism." — *Nuova Italia*, p. 156.

of what must be accepted and what given up, more outspoken as to the bad way the Church is in and the ruinous consequences of further obstinacy, and more unsparing in its denunciation and abuse of the party that has dragged the Church so near to the brink of the precipice, and is still dragging it daily on to the abyss. A rejoinder from "a Father of the Company," which deals chiefly with the attacks of Curci on the Order and its organ, retorting in a style that will put the ex-father to a moral torture dreadful to think of, closes the controversy *up to date*.

In attempting to define and estimate the position of the two parties in the discussion, we are met on the threshold by a preliminary question, *Who are the parties?* We have already intimated what is Curci's conception of his opponents. They are the courtiers of the Vatican. They are a faction of mediocre and worldly zealots who rose into sudden power during the last years of Pius IX. The passage in which Curci depicts the character of the late pontiff, and shows how its weakness and vanity fostered this rank growth of sycophants and fanatics, is one whose flavour of scandal attracted from the first the notice of the profane press.

"Giovanni Mastai," he writes, "possessed an intellect rather lively and acute than lofty and comprehensive; he acquired much and varied knowledge of men and things, but of science properly so called had no larger a stock than an ordinary second-rate priest. His special gift was a great faculty of speech, rendered effective by an attractive aspect and a harmonious voice; but his discourse was more insinuating than solemn, and as he perceived that it gave pleasure and it pleased him to give pleasure, he made such an enormous abuse of it, especially of late years, as to destroy all the value of utterances, which coming as they do from the highest authority on earth, while they acquire influence from their rarity, so lose it by nothing so much as by excessive frequency. . . The glory of God, of the Virgin and of the Saints was ever on his lips, and no doubt also in his heart; but here no small place was taken up also by his own,—sometimes apparently even more than by the other. This disposition, combined with his want of elevation of mind, rendered him impatient of excellence in others, and disposed him to favour mediocrities and even nullities. These, in impulses of caprice not rare with him, he would sometimes raise to dignity, as if emulating the omnipotence that creates from nothing, and loved to get round him these big boys in purple and play off his wit upon them. I

remember that once (I believe in 1856), while conversing with me with great familiarity, he made me a running criticism on his ministers, anything but to their advantage, beginning with Antonelli, whom he esteemed little and loved less. On my taking the liberty of observing, 'But how is it that your Holiness, knowing them so well, can leave the direction of affairs in their hands?' he replied, 'True, they are fools; still the bark goes! (*E' vero, sono inetti; nondimeno la barca va!*) I thought of Paganini, and his stupendous variations on a single string; but the object of statecraft is not like that of fiddle-craft to show the dexterity of the master; and where the bark *has gone to*, is plain for all eyes to see. . . So after the 20th of September, 1870, the Pope found at his side the men he had placed there,—visionary ascetics in good faith, vulpine or weak-minded flatterers, Cæsarean poets and aulic sophists, men who cast flames where they ought to have applied ice, and made the darkness denser where they might have shed a ray or two of light. And thus was manufactured the dogma, or at least the Catholic verity of the infallible restoration of the temporal power as it was before; and meanwhile, to keep the faith in it alive, there was formed and fomented around the pontiff that intoxicating atmosphere of noisy applause, which seemed to become to him subsequently a very necessity of existence."—*Nuova Italia*, pp. 50-53.

In all this there is no doubt a great deal of truth, but there is also a fundamental fallacy. Flattering courtiers, Cæsarean poets, mediocrities in office, stipendiary journalists and the like, do not *create* the policy of absolute governments: they watch for its prognostics, they anticipate it, they become its noisy exponents, they exaggerate it, they rave against its adversaries; but the policy is their masters', not theirs. Let but Cæsar veer round to another mode of thinking, and the whole blatant crew will vie with one another which can get quickest and farthest ahead on the new track. And no otherwise have matters proceeded at the Vatican. It has had no doubt its swarm of supple and intriguing courtiers; it has had, making common cause with these, a crowd of dependents from whom other courts are exempt,—narrow-minded zealots, who have raised the same cry from fanatical faith that the others have from flattery or interest. And it is perfectly true that the personal character of Pius IX. created an atmosphere in which such creatures thrive and multiplied. Nor can it be denied that it is through these men that the policy of the Vatican has been most noisily announced and acrimoniously defended. But these men did not determine

the policy they uphold: that policy is a Government tradition of many generations; it is the policy of that vague and complex centre of Papal authority which we call the *Curia*; if the cardinals and high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic world were polled, the vast majority would still pronounce for its maintenance. If courtiers and zealots vociferate more loudly than others in its favour, that is only after the manner of their kind; but Father Curci shows himself strangely obtuse when beyond their shriller voices he cannot hear the deep concurrent assent of the authorities of his Church.

And now what is this policy of the Vatican? And what is the policy that Father Curci proposes in its stead?

We must distinguish between certain theoretical principles in which both parties are agreed, and a practical course of action in which alone the divergence between them really lies. The theory is that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope is founded in right, both human and Divine, and that it is necessary to the free and independent exercise of his spiritual primacy. This conferment on the Papal See of a civil principality "by the singular counsel of Divine Providence," because indispensable to the liberty and authority of the pontiff as Vicar of the Universal Church, if not a dogma of the Church, differs therefrom by distinctions too fine for ordinary eyes to detect. It was affirmed by Pius IX., in 1862, in a solemn Allocution delivered—surely *ex cathedrâ*—before the assembled Episcopacy of the Catholic world, and formally assented to (though of course we have learned since that *that* added nothing to its weight) by the bishops themselves in an unanimous *Declaration* to the same effect. Even Curci himself, as a good son of the Church, cannot but bow his head to an utterance so authoritative. "Allowance made for its defect of Œcumenical forms, the proposition may and ought to be called a doctrine of the Universal Church, which no Catholic could reject without tripping in his faith" (*Mod. Diss.*, p. 59). Hence, ideally and abstractly, Curci admits a quasi-dogma with regard to the Divine origin and necessity of the temporal power; just as he admits elsewhere, ideally and abstractly, the truth and binding force of the *Syllabus*. Nothing, in fact, in all his writings is more ingenious than the way in which he saves his Catholic conscience, by relegating to a certain ethereal region of abstract truth every proposition which, as coming

*ex cathedrâ Petri*, he is bound on his allegiance to accept, while yet refusing to be hampered by it in his relations to the profane world of fact and action. Thus the *Syllabus* he regards as setting forth "*the ideal of civil perfection in Christian society*;" but unfortunately society in this nineteenth century is not Christian, and cares very little for ideals; hence, to present the *Syllabus* as a scheme for adjusting civil and ecclesiastical relations in the existing society of positivists and materialists, were to cast pearls before swine, with the certainty of both the results predicted by the Divine Master. And similarly with regard to the temporal power. Abstractly, it is no doubt a providential safeguard for the independency of the Church's visible Head, and, as such, of Divine origin, and a necessity for the Church's well-being; but as a fact in human history, it may exist in forms of which a definite territorial principality is but one, and it may even be withdrawn altogether for a time, in chastisement of the Church's sins.

Though Father Curci thus frees his practical policy from the trammels of his theoretical beliefs, it is well to remember what those theoretic beliefs are. The claimant to your title and estate may accept from you for the present a small annuity, because he finds it inexpedient to press for more; but while he holds his claim to be theoretically good, what security have you that he will not some day dispossess you altogether? The "expedient" shifts and changes, the "lawful" abides. Father Curci would not have startled society as it now exists with the volleying anathemas of the *Syllabus*; but he would only have masked his battery, not dismantled it. He would make the best terms he could with the new masters of Italy; but surely the Pope's abstract right Divine to an independent sovereignty in one form or another is a dangerous claim reserved.

Coming down now from theory to action, the two policies are not only divergent, but antagonistic. That of the Vatican proceeds by a logic as abstract as the premises from which it starts. The Papal sovereignty in Italy was founded in Divine right. It was the "defence" over the "glory." God's providence in history for fifteen centuries has been teaching the truth, God's Oracle on earth has formulated it into dogma. That sovereignty cannot therefore be overthrown for ever. It may be temporarily usurped for the trial and discipline of the Church; but its restoration is indubitable. Meanwhile, the duty of the Church is

clear. She must wait, but entrenched in her right. There must be no such compromise with the usurper as would involve sanction of his act. There can be no recognition of Italy as a legitimate State. Towards her King and Parliament in Rome no attitude is possible save that of protest. The dispossessed monarch cannot accept the protection of laws not his own in his own rightful States. It is this impossibility that converts the palace within which he is yet sovereign into a prison. He is *not free* to go where he can only go discrowned. Nor can true sons of the Church take oath of allegiance to this usurping Government, or participate in the making of its laws, or assist officially in the administration of them, or entrust the education of their children to its schools and universities. The Church may, in its great charity, concede its rites to the individuals who are guilty of complicity in these respects; but it does so under protest, and the better part is to abstain.

Curci's reasoning proceeds by another method, and reaches vastly different conclusions. His logic allows in its progress for disturbing influences, for refraction in passing through the denser medium of the actual. Granted that the temporal sovereignty is a gift of God to guarantee the independence of the spiritual; it does not, however, follow that the only form God intends the temporal sovereignty to assume is that precisely of a territorial principality in the heart of Italy. Such an arrangement may have been the best for the ages in which all Italy was split up into States separated by arbitrary geographical lines; but God Himself may intend it to disappear, now that the irresistible sentiment of nationality has swept away those diplomatic partitions. In such matters it is lawful, nay the part of wisdom, to deduce the design of Providence from the strong evidence of facts. And do not the facts every day more and more strongly show that the temporal power, in its ancient form, is gone for ever? Will the Italian nation ever commit the political suicide of spontaneously surrendering its natural and historic capital to an alien sovereignty? Is there, will there ever be, a Papal faction in the bosom of the nation strong enough to wrest from it any such compromise? Does any foreign power give the remotest sign of a disposition to consider the question as other than a purely domestic one, with whose settlement it would be a gross



and impertinent violation of all the rules of international courtesy for any extraneous Government to interfere? But if the *fiat* of Providence has thus evidently gone forth against the temporal power *as it was*, it is wisdom, it is pious resignation, to accept the new order, and make the best terms with it possible. The highest form of faith in the Divine right and the infallibly declared necessity of the temporal power lies, not in wailing over the dead body of the past, but in believing that there shall be a resurrection in which God will provide a new body, suited to the new conditions of the times. And meantime—as long as this intermediate state of expectation and waiting shall last—let the Church recognise this new United Italy as legitimised *de facto* if not *de jure*, work with it on its own conditions, and turn wisely and vigorously to account every opportunity those conditions offer for recovering and strengthening its own spiritual ascendancy.

Descending to particulars, Curei's chief proposals may perhaps be summed up as follows. We speak dubiously, because of his perplexing inconsistencies. Let King Humbert and his Government be recognised in Italy, as the Republic has been recognised in France and the constitutional rule of King Alphonso in Spain. Cease then and determine once for all the insulting diatribes of the clerical press, and the protests and extra-national appeals of pontifical allocutions and despatches. Let the word go forth from the Vatican, authorising the entrance of Catholics into Parliament and urging Catholic electors to the urns. Let there thus be formed a strong party "of sincere believers"—our author eschews the phrase "Catholic party," so we use instead his own periphrasis—chosen "for the purpose of giving to legislation and Government that moral tendency whose basis is the Catholic religion." In education let the Church co-operate with the State, accepting its programmes, and seeking to acquire its confidence. Nay, still as yielding to the present necessity, let the Church give up its old juridical standing in the State, and accept frankly the modern principle of *separation*—free Church in free State—leaving to the civil power the regulation of civil affairs, conforming even in its own person to the civil power wherever it has to act as a civil entity, and contenting itself with using to the utmost in the interests of its own authority the liberties conceded to it in its own sphere.

Such, in its broad features, is Curci's policy, expounded with vehement vituperation of all who would stand in the old paths,\* yet with a strangely contrasted hesitancy wherever his argument requires him to express an opinion as to the absolute right or intrinsic worth of the new institutions with which he urges compromise. If the question be one of legitimacy, no doubt the legitimate sovereign is *not* King Humbert. The fundamental maxim of modern democracy that the nation has a right to choose its own form of government may be dealt with as a fact without admitting it as a principle. Parliamentary institutions are, after all, but a poor expedient. Liberty of the press and worship certainly would not exist in an ideal state of society. Much might be said to show that the famous maxim of the free Church in the free State is an absurdity and a lie, but meanwhile God has permitted the absurdity and the lie to get the upper hand. On reading these and similar reservations, and remembering at the same time Curci's acceptance in the abstract of the *Syllabus* and the temporal power, a vague feeling of distrust arises. We call to mind the manifesto to Pius IX., with its treacherous plot for sending king and country to Canossa. What is the ultimate scope and intention of such a policy? What the secret thought at the bottom of its propounder's mind? Let us suppose the policy successful, let the "sincere believers" become the majority in Parliament, and so be able to legislate and govern "on the basis of the Catholic faith," would they consider the Italian State to be sufficiently "Christian" for the actuation of the "ideal" principles of the *Syllabus*? Would the time be come for the resurrection of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope in its new form? How much would they leave of the Magna Charta of Italy, the *Statuto* of Charles Albert? To what extent would the first article be used "to interpret, apply and modify" the rest? When a political party makes such enormous reserves of principle as a clerical conservatism *à la Curci* would do, no constitution would be safe in their hands, were they once to become masters of the situation. A woman might as well trust herself to a husband who was an avowed Mormon in principle, because during the days of courtship he had made suit to her alone. We do not accuse Father Curci of deliberate treachery; we believe that he is personally rather inconsistent than disloyal;

but we are quite sure that if the phalanx of Italians, cleric and lay, who receive their orders from the Vatican, were to enter political life on such terms of compromise as he suggests, the programme of such a party, if put into words, would be: "We accept and work by the existing constitution and order of things for the present, as the only means left us of acquiring power, but if once we do acquire power, we intend to remodel everything in accordance with those theoretic principles which, as matters of faith, confirmed by God's vicariat on earth, we have never renounced."

But, even if attempted, would such a policy have any chance of success? Our deliberate reply is, not the remotest. It must be remembered that the Liberal party in Italy is the nation. Beyond the Church and its immediate dependents, a Papal or Clerical party, that is, a party holding by such principles as even Father Curci reserves, hardly exists. It would be an immense mistake to suppose that all those who, in deference to the Papal inhibition, abstain from political life, accept the abstract theories of the *Syllabus*, or the abstract right of the Pope's temporal power. Were the Vatican to reverse its policy, and authorise the voting paper and the Parliamentary oath, its own representatives in the House of Deputies would be for the most part simply good Catholics, not Clericals. They would vote, no doubt, against such measures as the extension of the conscription to the candidates for the priesthood, and the abolition of religious instruction in the schools, but on any question touching the Crown and Constitution they would be with Italy and not with the Pope. All this we have seen rehearsed already on a small scale in those few municipal elections in which the Clericals, dexterously turning to profit the divisions of the Liberals, have managed to obtain an illusory majority.

And all this the long heads who direct the Vatican policy no doubt foresee, and a great deal more. They know that influence is reciprocal. Once seated in the supreme council of the nation, the Clerical deputy would be at least as likely to get impregnated himself by the surrounding atmosphere as to temper it with his own views. So too, by the way, of the Catholic lad in the National University, where profane professors would enunciate doctrines of political economy and interpretations of historical facts, strangely at variance with the Papal allocutions and the

"ideals" of the *Syllabus*. And the provisions of the Vatican leaders probably sweep yet broader horizons. A pontiff pacified with the Italian Government becomes a grand stipendiary of the Italian Government. A pontiff going in and out in a Rome not his own, becomes *ipso facto* subject to Italian law. A pontiff in a royal capital of which the royalty appertains to another, in all questions that may arise of personal precedence and of court etiquette—and arise they inevitably would—must in the long run take the second place. And what is to become, on such hypotheses, of the cosmopolitan prestige of the Papacy? Nay, worse still, let war arise between Italy and some other Catholic power, what exit then for a *nationalised Papacy* out of the dilemma in which it has allowed itself to be enmeshed? Surely the experience of Pius IX. in 1848, when, if he blessed Italy, he cursed Austria, may suffice to show that *then*, if never before, would come the fatal hitch which would tear to shreds all this finely-spun web of conciliation.

And yet how can the present state of things continue? It is unnatural, self-contradictory, suicidal. To begin with the lowest, yet most obvious, considerations: how long will the Popes consent to wear out prematurely their brief remnant of life in the fever-charged, apoplectic atmosphere of the Vatican? And how long will Peter's pence suffice to keep up the vast outlay of the Papacy, and so evade the necessity of accepting the dole guaranteed by the Italian Government? Dark whispers are afloat; and the recent economies at the Vatican have been certainly more than whispers. But there are difficulties that go deeper down, and menaces of wider disaster. Will the Italian nation accept for ever, even in outward profession, a religion whose infallible head lays under ban Crown and Government, and protests against the very existence of the nation in its present unity? Old use and wont may prop up such a state of things for awhile; but how about newer generations? And what must be the effect upon the nation of this prolonged seclusion of the pontiff in the Vatican? Like the Arabian phoenix, he dies and rises from his ashes, but no one sees him; the splendid ceremonial that used to attend his public appearances is fast fading into the traditionary past; will not men come to look upon so mythic a being as a grand superfluity? How long will it take for a position that had at first

perhaps some show of the heroic about it, to degenerate into the ridiculous? And will not the voice that is supposed to announce to reverent millions the decrees of God, lose somewhat of its authority from association with imbecile protests and innocuous curses of which the world has long grown weary?

We see, in fact, no solution to the dilemma. The path by which the Papacy is at present walking leads up to a blank wall, yet the only exit is a slippery incline leading down to the abyss. And it seems to us that a great despair is creeping over the Vatican itself. No one can fail to note how much the later utterances of the Holy See are lacking in the cheery elasticity that rang through the notes of woe and anger in the ever-flowing speech of Pius IX. The very toning down of Giovanni Mastai's energy of malediction is a significant token. There is one passage in the official reply to Curci's first book which strikes us as a confession of despondency whose significance can hardly have been present to the writers themselves. After reaffirming the necessity of the temporal power to the independence and liberty of the Church, they proceed :

"As to the more or less imminent restoration of this temporal power, no one has ever dreamed of making it a dogma of faith, or even a point of Catholic doctrine. On this matter Catholic writers have made a distinction. They have said : *Either we have entered into the last period of the world*, in preparation for the coming of the Man of Sin, and then not only will the Pope never have again his temporal power, but the Church will be more and more distracted by new and ever-increasing oppressions, till it reaches those extremities described in prophetic Scripture. *Or the coming of Antichrist is yet a long way off*, and then God in the ordinary course of His Providence, will restore to His Church its civil principality—condition indispensable to its liberty and peaceful procedure.—*Breve Esame*, p. 12:

To the men who wrote *that* the outlook must have been very gloomy. The alternative, either restoration or the end of the world, has a desperate sound. To us who believe restoration impossible, and the consummation of all things yet distant, it seems to leave the dilemma where it was, namely, between the blank wall and the steep slope to the abyss.

As to Father Curci, we fear that no deliverance will be wrought by him. Were he a much younger man, he

would still lack the self-control, the breadth of view, the calm and patient strength, needed by the leader of a great movement. Besides, he has yet to bring his principles into harmony with his policy. While the breach between them lasts, he will not escape the fate of many an abler "trimmer" than himself, that, namely, of incurring the suspicion of both parties. The best that we can wish for him is, that in some lodge in the wilderness, far from the strife of tongues, he may spend the serene evening of a stormy life in new and more careful studies of that Book of books, the knowledge of which, and of its Divine subject, is—according to the truest saying we have found in all his writings—the great need of his Church and country.

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- ART. II.—1. *Fiji and the Fijians*. By the REVS. THOMAS WILLIAMS and JAMES CALVERT. Edited by the REV. GEORGE STRINGER ROWE. Two Vols. Third Edition. Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.
2. *Viti: an Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860-61*. By BERTHOLD SEEMANN, Ph.D., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., &c. With Illustrations and a Map. Macmillan and Co. 1862.
3. *The King and People of Fiji*. By the REV. JOSEPH WATERHOUSE. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1866.
4. *Polynesian Reminiscences; or, Life in the South Pacific Islands*. By W. T. PRITCHARD, F.R.G.S., F.A.S.L., formerly H.M. Consul at Samoa and Fiji. London: Chapman and Hall. 1866.
5. *A Ride through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand, together with some Account of the South Sea Islands. Being Selections from the Journals and Letters of Lieut. the Hon. Herbert Meade, R.N.* Edited by HIS BROTHER. Second Edition. London: John Murray. 1871.
6. *South Sea Bubbles*. By the EARL and the DOCTOR. Fourth Edition. London: Richard Bentley and Son. 1872.
7. *System of Taxation in force in Fiji*. By the HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON, G.C.M.G. London: Harrison and Sons. 1879.
8. *Fiji and New Caledonia*. By J. W. ANDERSON, M.A. London: Ellissen and Co. 1880.
9. *At Home in Fiji*. By C. F. GORDON CUMMING. In Two Vols. Second Edition. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1881.
10. *Government Blue-Books on Fiji*.

THESE books supply the deficiencies and correct the obliquities one of another. They do not exhaust the literature of the subject, but they are a fair sample of the whole. *Viti*, by Doctor Seemann, gives us what was seen by a

scientific traveller. The book is full of interesting information. It is only when he forgets his special mission as a scientist, and touches Fijian politics, and especially the history of the Tongan in Fiji, that he is incorrect and unreliable. *Fiji and the Fijians*, by the veteran missionaries, Calvert and Williams, presents a picture of the islands before their conversion to Christianity. It is deeply shaded with moral degradation and spiritual night, but shows how Christianity can light pillars of fire in the dark places of the earth, and change the habitations of cruelty into quiet resting-places, where the rights and liberties of man and the laws and worship of God are held sacred. Mr. Pritchard's *Reminiscences* were published for a purpose. He poses as the victim of religious conspiracy and intolerance. In so far as the book is personal and self-justifying, it proves the truth of the old adage about a man who is counsel in his own case. One of the ablest Commissions that the English Government ever sent out, after full inquiry in the Islands, recommended his supersession. Colonel Smythe did good service by his action, and by the charges which led to the appointment of the Commission, proving that H.B.M. consuls, even at the ends of the earth, are not exempt from responsibility. Mr. Pritchard was an able man, with very valuable experience, and might have been everything but king in Fiji, had he not misused his opportunities. On Polynesian anthropology and mythology his book is an authority. *The Journals of Lieut. the Hon. H. Meade, R.N.*, suffer through careless editing. There is an unaccountable break of continuity in Chapter XIII. on "Natural History" (probably a page of manuscript omitted), and the work is not free from mistakes. A poisonous black slug is confounded with the "heel" of a harp fish. The index points to the "murder of Mr. Nettleton, the Wesleyan missionary at Kandavu, page 225." We believe that gentleman still survives: the murdered missionary was the late Rev. Thomas Baker. The Hon. Mr. Meade was a genial and cultured naval officer, the unfortunate victim of an experiment with a torpedo of his own invention. His visits to Fiji, in the ships of war *Esk* and *Curaçoa*, were the occasion of his writing these *Journals*. He travelled much inland, and made himself acquainted with the country and the people. Had he lived to edit his own book it would have been less imperfect.

Whatsoever things are unjust and whatsoever things are vile in *South Sea Bubbles*, by the Earl and the Doctor, are fully answered by the charming volumes of Miss Gordon Cumming. *At Home in Fiji* will be widely read by the friends and supporters of Christian missions. The book is a series of letters, and the descriptions are of places whence the letters are dated. A reader may be misled by applying to the group generally what is peculiar to some place in it. High rents, the prices of provisions, and the absence of flowers at the chief port, are local peculiarities arising from special causes.

The paper on "Fijian Taxation," by Sir Arthur Gordon, the first governor of the colony, was read before the Royal Colonial Institute. It touches a new and very interesting subject, and suggests the question whether, in British colonies having a large native population, "revenue in kind" would not increase the wealth of the Government, and lighten the burdens of the people.

Between the continents of America and Australia, a "Milky Way" of islands stretches across the Pacific, of which the Fijian Archipelago is the largest and most important group. It contains eighty inhabited islands, some of which are of considerable size, and about one hundred and twenty islets, covered with cocoa-nut palms, and set like emeralds in rings of coral. The small scale of the maps upon which this large number of islands is usually represented is misleading as to the area and importance of the group. Governor Des Voeux says: "A line drawn round the extremities of the colony would describe a figure of which the shortest diameter would be over 260 miles in length, the longest 370 miles. A steam-vessel passing over this line at ten miles an hour would occupy little less than five days and nights on the voyage. One island is as large as Jamaica, and considerably larger than Cyprus. Another would contain the Mauritius three times and Barbadoes ten times, and the aggregate area of the whole, 7,000,000 acres, is greater than that of all the British West India Islands." Sir Arthur Gordon brings the comparison nearer home: "The largest island (Viti Levu) is about the same area as the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Middlesex, Berkshire and Hampshire, and the next in size somewhat smaller than Cornwall, Devonshire, and Somerset."

There is an abundant rainfall all the year round. The trade winds, passing over thousands of miles of ocean, are

surcharged with vapour, which the mountains of Fiji condense into fruitful showers. The temperature ranges from 55° to 95°. A hot and moist climate, with rich alluvial soil, makes a conservatory blooming with beauty and teeming with fertility. Cotton, coffee, sugar, tobacco, cocoa-nuts, and sago palms, tapioca, maize, rice, india-rubber, arrowroot, spices, and sub-tropical fruits, find a natural home.

The climate is not unhealthy, although the continued heat all the year round is wasting and trying to the European constitution. Malarious fevers and ague are almost unknown. Ophthalmic diseases are common, and dysentery is prevalent and often fatal. For nine months in the year the south-east trades blow with an average velocity of from fifteen to twenty miles an hour, tempering the heat of the summer sun. During the three rainy months northerly winds prevail, blowing from the equator as the hot blast from a furnace. Then a hurricane will perhaps sweep over the group, desolating plantations and ruining houses, but clearing the atmosphere and introducing the cool, refreshing trades.

Most of the islands of the Fijian group are of volcanic formation. The whole of Polynesia is probably a submerged continent, the outlines of which are marked by the great barrier-reefs, and the mountain-tops of which form the present islands. This is the only theory that will account for all the facts. The islands generally run like mountain ranges, with the peaks above water. Soundings taken between two islands give a sea shelving downwards for half the distance, and then shelving upwards to the opposite shore, like a depression or valley between two peaks. Between one island and another there are no deep sea soundings, like the profound depths which separate one continent from another, but a shallow sea. Coral reefs are found a thousand fathoms below the surface. The reef-building polyp does not flourish below thirty fathoms, and is not found living at one hundred fathoms. Either the sea has risen, or the land must have sunk. Native legends of the Flood make the great god Degei—in seeking to punish the murderers of his favourite bird “Turukua” (who had taken refuge in a mountain cave)—to sink the mountain gradually into the sea. In order to escape they built Noah’s Ark, or the first Polynesian canoe. Not then by the rising of the waters, but by the

depression of the land, do they account for the Flood. The whole of Polynesia is an area of subsidence, and this fact accounts for variety in coral reef and island formation. An atoll, or lagoon island, is a monument over a departed mountain. The corals, building on the foundation of the submerged peak and keeping the outer edge of their structure highest,—for they are always most lively where the surf is breaking, and respiration is most free,—have gradually got the outer edge to high-water mark, and formed a ring-like island with a lagoon in the centre.

Some atolls have fresh-water lagoons. The submerged mountain was an extinct volcano, with a fresh-water lake in the crater. The Island of Taviuni in Fiji is the summit of a volcano. The crater is now a fresh-water lake, nine miles long and two in breadth. The sides of the mountain, formed of decomposed lava, are wondrously fertile, and beautifully festooned with a foliage of palms, tree-ferns, screw-pines, variegated crotons, dracænas, &c. Should Taviuni go down about 300 feet further into the sea, it would be an atoll with a lagoon of fresh water.

An island of purely coral formation is the result of the lagoon in the centre having been filled up with drift and broken coral, and in which floating seeds have taken root and gradually formed the "Summer Isle of Eden." A barrier-reef is an atoll with an island in the middle, or the mountain peak in the centre above the water. The corals have built from a ledge of the mountain, keeping the outer edge and the shore fringe of the reef highest. The lower centre or space between the two reefs is the lagoon. An island of purely coral formation has only one mineral, viz., limestone, and no mountain, or valley, or river. Its flora is limited to plants the seeds of which float without losing their vitality in sea-water, such as the pandanus, cocoanut, sago, and other palms; the mangrove, bread-fruit, and tree-ferns. The poetry that gathers its inspiration from mountain and flood, from precipice and ravine and river, would not be intelligible to a man who had spent all his life on a coral island.

The volcanic formation has a much more varied and beautiful flora; mountain peaks and curves and undulating ridges, cataracts and waterfalls, with numerous rivers, some of them, like the Rewa, navigable for vessels of light draught for fifty miles into the interior. But the lagoon is the charm of the Pacific. To go outside, where the

warm blue water swells and curves, and catch the "big long roller as it thunders on the reef," floating upon its white crest to the shining shore in the midst of foam and spray and sunshine, is the highest luxury of Polynesians. To the naturalist the lagoon is a treasury richly stored with rare and curious things. Looking down from his boat into the water, clear as the atmosphere above it, he sees corals in every conceivable variety of form and colour spread out beneath him like a submarine landscape, here resembling an old ivy-mantled castle, with turrets and towers, there a primeval forest in the full summer of its foliage, yonder an enamelled meadow, or a flower garden, where the brilliantly-coloured parrot and coral fishes, blue or yellow, or crimson or green, float about like the humming birds and butterflies of a tropical forest.

"Indeed, the eye that loves exquisite colour can never weary here. The rich blue of the harbour (lagoon) is separated from the purplish indigo of the great ocean by a submarine rainbow of indescribable loveliness. This is caused by the coral reef, which produces a gleaming ray as if from a hidden prism. The patches of coral, seaweed, and sometimes white sand, lying at irregular depths, beneath a shallow covering of the most crystalline emerald green water, produce every shade of aqua marine, mauve, sienna, and orange, all marvellously blended. The shades are continually varying with the ebb and flow of the tide: . . . The scene is loveliest at noon when the sun is right over head, and lights up the colours beneath the water in the coral caves. When the tide is low and the sea without a ripple, you float idly over the coral beds, suffering your boat to lie at rest or drift with the current, as a stroke of the oars would disturb the clear surface of the water beneath which lie such inexhaustible stores of loveliness. Every sort and kind of coral grow together there, from the outstretched branches, which look like garden shrubs, to the great tables of solid coral, on which lie strewn shells and sponges and heaps of grain and mushroom corals. These living shrubs assume every shade of colour: some are delicate pink or blue; others of a brilliant mauve; some pale primrose. But vain is the attempt to carry home these beautiful flowers of the sea. Their colour is their life. It is, in fact, simply a gelatinous slime, which drips away, as the living creatures melt away and die when exposed to the upper air. So the corals we know in England are mere skeletons, and very poor substitutes for the lovely objects we see and covet in their native condition."—*At Home in Fiji*, Vol. I. p. 63.

It is more than a surprise to read on the very next page,



"It is hard to realise that these mighty sea walls are indeed the work of microscopic *insects*," or to be told there are coral cliffs "above the height where the *insect* could live." This is a popular error. Corals are not insects. A coral reef is not like a colony of ants building up a hill, or a hive of bees forming cells and honeycomb, or a family of beavers constructing their dwelling. Corals do not toil or manifest skill. It is not handiwork, but growth. They do no more than the child who eats oatmeal, or bone-forming food. Corals are flower-like animals, capable of secreting large quantities of carbonate of lime from the sea, and depositing it in most varied and beautiful forms to thicken and extend their bony framework. The nearest resemblance to a living coral-forming polyp is the China aster. In the centre of the disc is the mouth and stomach. Each animal has a separate mouth and stomach, with tentacles extended in the warm blue water, but beyond these they have no individuality. They grow together like Siamese twins, many animals being united by living tissues. They are a zoological co-operative society, each mouth feeding and nourishing the whole family or society. They die, leaving their skeletons after living together, like plants which formed the peat. Other polyps build upon them, generation after generation. The coffins and corpses of one generation are the foundation for the next, and that again for the next, till the massive reef is formed. The upper sea face *only* is covered with living forms, but underneath are the tombs of past generations. They have done more to build up the material of this world than all other living creatures put together, man himself not excepted. The mighty barrier reefs dwarf the Pyramids and belittle ancient Babylon or modern London. The largest stretches along the north-east coast of Australia, more than a thousand miles in length, with an average width of thirty miles; a solid wall of masonry rising perpendicularly from the sea bottom, several thousand fathoms high, for the sea outside is generally profoundly deep. Another such barrier stretches four hundred miles along the shores of New Caledonia. Many islands, peopled with busy multitudes and cultivated as pastures or plantations, or wild with luxuriant growth, are spread over the surface of these formations. The corals cannot live in muddy or fresh water. Where the river with its freshet flows into the lagoon, there is a break in the shore or fringing reef,

and a vessel can thus pass up the river into the interior. Nearly opposite the mouth of the river, where the fresh water flows towards the open sea, there is a corresponding opening through the outer or barrier reef, which is the ship's channel, and through which the largest vessels can pass and anchor inside the lagoon. These lagoons, in fact, form large natural harbours, capable of accommodating whole fleets, the sea walls of which were formed by the growth of corals, without effort or architectural skill on their part, and without cost to any Government.

The pink or flesh-coloured coral builds no reef or break-water. Though pampered and petted and set in gold, it simply blooms at the bottom of the Mediterranean, at great depths, and forms no island. In a zoological sense, it is a bachelor, a lonely second cousin to the white or reef-building polyp.

The personal researches and observations of Mr. Darwin, during his cruise with H.M. ship *Beagle*, brought to light the true theory of coral reefs. Montgomery's *Pelican Island* may be a beautiful poem, but the discoveries of Mr. Darwin turn all its facts into fiction. Huxley and Dana endorse Mr. Darwin's theory, and support it with many additional proofs.

The theory of a submerged continent implies the existence of an earlier race. In the languages and ruins and mountain tribes of some of the islands we have probably the relics of a race possessed of some culture. The immense ruins in the Caroline, Mariane, and Malden's groups; the colossal stone figures of Easter Island, where the Malay-Polynesian language is spoken; and in Rotumah, the stone tombs, resembling Druidical remains, all point to a higher civilisation in the past. There are no legends or traditions in Fiji indicating the direction of primeval migrations; but, on the contrary, legends of a creation and fall in their own land. Two great races are popularly known in Polynesia, the Malayan and the Papuan. Fijians are a fusion of the two. In the Windward or Eastern part of the group, where the Malayan element prevails, the skin is smooth and glossy, the colour a reddish-yellow, and the hair straight. The men are cold, grave, treacherous, calculating, revengeful, the incarnation of self-possession and selfishness. Volcanic fires of anger may burn in the bosom, but the countenance indicates only composure. In the Western parts of the group the Papuan is seen in the dark

olive skin, and in the head covered with frizzly locks. He is thickly bearded, merry, and laughter-loving, impetuous, impassioned, and in war a reckless dare-devil. In the Bau chiefs and rulers the fusion of the two is very clear, making them predominant and prevailing, and the most industrious and energetic race. The Fijians build better canoes and houses and make better pottery than their neighbours. Their settlements or towns are much after the pattern of a Hindoo village. They are divided into hereditary trade guilds, a tribe of carpenters, a tribe of potters, a tribe of fishermen, a tribe of agriculturists. They are not on a level with the astute Brahmin, nor do they resemble the African Negro. They have much more affinity with the ordinary Hindoo than with the wandering, opossum-hunting Australian aboriginal. They show a striking resemblance to the Hovas of Madagascar, who are a Malay-Polynesian race.

"The people are not nomadic; they live a settled life in towns of good and comfortable houses; they respect and follow agriculture; their social and political organisation is complete; they amass property, and have laws for its descent; their land tenures are elaborate; they read, they write, and cipher. Women are respected, hold a high social position, and are exempt from agricultural labour. There is a school in almost every village; their chiefs possess accounts at the bank, conduct correspondence, and generally exhibit capacities for a higher grade of civilisation." —*System of Taxation in Force in Fiji* (Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon), p. 12.

They have been designated by a great authority "a race of nature's noblemen." This, however, applies only to their fine physical development. Their moral nature is the reverse of noble. The moral sense has not been destroyed but perverted, and only condemns theft or lying when done clumsily or discovered. Cunning is accounted the highest excellency. The man whose many wrinkles testify to numberless escapes is regarded as a kind of hero, and put upon the calendar of saints. Their ingenuity in apology or excuse is something marvellous. The memory is highly cultivated. The priests repeat the old legends, composed in blank verse and containing all their mythology and history, without a trip. The children in the schools give recitations, which for length or difficulty would astonish English children. The reasoning power is weak. They reason only from analogy. They are fluent speakers, cul-

tivating all the graces of rhetoric, and using words that have no meaning, "as ornaments of speech," to improve the rhythm. When the chiefs in council have given their opinion, it is the work of the public orator to "*ulia na vosa*." He gathers up the opinions of the assembled chiefs, as expressed in their speeches, and then declares it in an impassioned oration.

Woman, as in every savage land, was degraded. She was as much a part of the man's property as his domestic animals. The wife could not sit with her husband at meals, but, with the children, partook afterwards of what he left. She was the "hewer of wood and drawer of water," the burden-bearer of the family. The system of polygamy added to her wrongs, and bore its accustomed fruit in jealousy, infanticide, and untold misery. Betrothal and circumcision had their prescribed forms, and the offering of first-fruits was an annual festival. Atonement by sacrifice is the key to their whole system of mythology; and the priestly caste was hereditary. They have multiplied inferior and local gods as deified spirits, &c., until they are countless as the stars; but, though known by different names in the various islands, Degei and his two sons are the national, underived and eternal gods. Degei is the Creator, whose form is that of the serpent, with a stone tail, implying eternal duration. His dwelling is a deep dark cave on the sacred mountains of Na-Kau-Vadra. Radinadina, known also as Ratumai-Bulu, is the Fijian "Ceres," whose smile fills the air with the fragrance of blossoms that ripen into fruits. Tokai Rabi is the Fijian "Mars," and the embodiment of every fearful attribute that is associated with savage warfare. These divinities had their temples, priests, shrines, and sacrifices. Sacred groves, or rocks, were everywhere associated with legends or traditions concerning them. Their elysium was "Burotu," a land said to be often seen, by the priests, from the north-western coast of Vanua Levu, or when sailing from Matuku to Kadavu, shimmering in the light of the setting sun. When they turned the prow of the canoe towards the west, where the golden palm leaves were glittering, the happy land receded and vanished. They could sail over the very place, but, like the setting sun, their heaven had disappeared. Tennyson's poem of the *Lotus Eaters* is a good description of it. The conditions of admittance there after death were military prowess, marriage,

and cunning. Naravuyalo (the destroyer of souls) tested the skill of the candidate in the use of the club; and for this reason the chief was buried with his favourite war club in his right hand. Na Yalewa Levu (the giantess) destroyed without pity every bachelor that sought admission, therefore were the widows strangled, that they might accompany the soul of the dead chief, and prove him to have been a married man. But Degei himself banished for ever into the "land of the outcasts" all the souls that could not come up to the required standard in cunning and craftiness.

"What were your deeds in the world below?" "Mine were the deeds of a great chief. Born a chief, I lived a chief, I died a chief. Many and warlike were my followers. Many wives, many slaves, much wealth and great power had I. Great wars were mine. Many enemies have I slain; many towns have I destroyed; many lands have I devastated. . . If Degei happens to believe all this, he replies, It is good; it is good; in Burotu dwell for ever."—*Polynesian Reminiscences* (Pritchard), p. 367.

Their mythology is purely spiritual: the Fijians were never worshippers of idols. Earthenware imitations of the bronze idols of India are made by the native potters, and are eagerly purchased as "Fijian gods" by travellers and passengers passing through the group in mail steamers; but the invention and manufacture are modern, and the traffic was probably the suggestion of some enterprising white trader, who knew the passion of Americans and Europeans for the curiosities of savage life.

The cannibalism of Fiji has been too often regarded in the light of the shambles and the slaughter-house. "Killed, cooked, and eaten," has been the burden of missionary speeches, while the religion of the people has been overlooked. Their mythology taught them that the most precious and acceptable sacrifice to the gods was a human life. Cannibal ovens were associated with the temple, and not used for other purposes. Cannibal forks were sacred. The high priest was the master of cannibal ceremonies; and every *bokola* (human sacrifice) was dashed against the sacred stone, that the blood might flow upon it: then the priest, in prescribed form, presented the sacrificial offering to the gods, praying that for the blood-shedding they would be propitious, and give to the people "victory in war," "abundant crops," "successful fishing," or "fair winds"

in their voyaging. One of the two first missionaries to Fiji writes :

"When about to offer a human sacrifice, the victim is selected from among the inhabitants of a distant territory. Ornamented for a feast of war, he is offered as a propitiatory sacrifice. These ceremonies being concluded, the body is carried beyond the precincts of consecrated ground, cut into quarters, and distributed among the people ; and they who were the cruel sacrificers of its life, are also the beastly devourers of its flesh. Cannibalism has its poisoned source in their religion."

"The Fijian religion requires cannibalism. When the priest promises the applicants that they shall be successful in war, by slaying some of the enemy, the bodies are given by the gods not to be killed only, but to be eaten also. Human flesh is not cooked in the ovens or pots used ordinarily."—*King and People* (Waterhouse), p. 313.

Of the lines of stones in the compound, or notches cut in the almond-tree growing under the shadow of the great temple of Naitasiri, on the Rewa river, Macdonald writes : "They were a register of the number of dead bodies (*bokolas*) brought to the spot, to be offered up at the temple, before they were cooked and eaten."

"There is a certain degree of religious awe associated with cannibalism, when a national institution ; a mysterious hallow akin to a sacrifice to a supreme being, with which only the select few, the *tabu* class, the priests, chiefs, and higher orders were deemed fit to be connected. Ovens for baking dead bodies and the pots in which human flesh is boiled or steamed are not devoted to any culinary purpose."

"The cannibal forks obtained at Namosi tended to confirm this belief. My handling them seemed to give as much pain as if I had gone into a Christian church and used the chalice for drinking water."—*A Mission to Viti* (Seemann), p. 181.

The man can be no better than his religious system. The worship of the Fijian became the means of gratifying his worst passions. The bitterness of revenge, his delight in war, his satanic pride, his love of notoriety, were all satisfied by the cannibal festivities of his temple. His vilest orgies were religious festivals. The highest and rarest expression of revenge, however, was not in eating, but in leaving the *bokola* in the oven, a sacrifice rejected by the gods, and too vile to be eaten of men. The oldest man in Fiji knew no case of cannibalism



through scarcity of food. Revenge, frequently gratified through the cannibal oven, grew into a passion, and the restless warrior was said to be a *turaga garogaro*—a chief *hungering* for human flesh. The food created its own morbid appetite, and several such monsters in human form are historic characters in Fiji. A murderer in England gave as his motive for committing the crime, a desire to *appear in the waxworks*, and a Fijian cooked his own wife (*me rogo kina*) to be made notorious. A desire for notoriety with the Fijian amounts to a passion.

War was not an amusement or a necessity to the Fijian, but the business of life. Tribal wars were chronic, and the restless spirit of revenge or ambition pleaded religious zeal as an excuse for slaughter. The baby boy was a warrior: his first training was to poise the spear and wield the club. Cakobau had shed "his first blood" and offered his first human sacrifice before he was ten years of age. Fijians never fought in the open field. All their methods of warfare were marked by cunning, treachery, and cowardice. All who were slain or taken prisoners in war, and all who escaped shipwreck, were given to the cannibal sacrifice.

Such was the material upon which the early missionaries had to work. They were messengers of peace to men everywhere at strife. They taught the knowledge of the true God to those who were worshipping the false with horrible orgies. They acquired the spoken language of the people, and reduced it to a written form. They printed elementary school-books, then parts of the New Testament and Psalms, and afterwards the complete Bible; then followed a hymn-book, a system of theology, catechisms, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and other useful works.

The loneliness and isolation of the early missionaries, surrounded by the wildest savageism, having no communication with the outside world more frequently than once a year; no medical man within a thousand miles, no one of their own colour or language to speak a word of sympathy in the day of illness, or to wish them God-speed in their work, required in them the patience of faith, the endurance of love, the fortitude of martyrdom, and zeal as a flame of fire, like that of the Old Testament altar, which never went out. They sought to offend no prejudice, to provoke no hostility, and, where they could not convince by powerful reasoning, to win by the quiet and continuous influence of holy living. Their daily life

of self-denying goodness preached a Gospel that no subtlety could gainsay and no argument resist. God has condescended to honour the Wesleyan Church in using its missionaries for the evangelisation of the Fijians. Independent testimony in Government Blue-books, reports of naval officers visiting the group in H.M. ships of war, and the observations of such intelligent travellers as C. F. Gordon Cumming, abundantly prove the reality and completeness of the work. Forty years after the landing of the two first missionaries heathenism as a system was abolished, its temples and priesthood and human sacrifices were gone, and with the exception of a few mountaineers, Cakobau, as a Christian king, ruled over a Christian nation.

"We cannot speak of the missionary body, which has laboured for thirty-eight years among these people, without recording our admiration of the zeal, intrepidity and devotion which have characterised their work here. It is to their teaching that the great progress which we have recorded is due."—*Blue-Book Report of H.M. Commissioners*, Commodore Goodenough and Mr. Consul Layard, Clause 60.

"The great social advances which have already been made within the last forty years from savage heathenism are due to the self-denying and unostentatious labours of the Wesleyan Church."—Sir Hercules Robinson, Administrator of the Colony.

Such testimonies as these are emphasised by Sir Arthur Gordon. The Executive Commissioner, in his catalogue of Fijian exhibits for the late Sydney International Exhibition, reports the "entire native population not only civilised to a large extent, but also Christianised and educated." The methods employed to accomplish a work like this are very suggestive to all who are interested in missions to the heathen.

The missionaries have never sought to denationalise. They were satisfied to change the savage heathen into a Christian Fijian. They made no attempt to compel their convert to dress, or look, or sit, or kneel, or sing like an Englishman. His Christianity is adapted to his climate and habits, and while he has abandoned everything heathenish, he has not been required to give up even an amusement, because it was Fijian. A Fijian congregation at prayer has suggested to some travellers the prostrations of devout Mussulmen in a mosque. Kneeling is not a native attitude of devotion. The true God and spiritual

worship were the essentials kept in mind by the missionary, and not the attitude of the body. Among the methods employed, education has proved a powerful lever. The great work of preaching has never been neglected, but harder work has been done in the patient teaching of the school. The work of the evangelist is stimulating and exciting, but the work of the schoolroom is practical and unromantic; it cannot be done in kid gloves or lawn sleeves. The missionary knew that hope centred in the young, and that these children of the tropics, with their faces bronzed by the sun, would, if converted and educated, be the Pauls and Apolloses and Timothies of the future native Church. The system of education in operation has its ramifications in every village, and all converge to the training-school on the mission station. The training-schools send their most promising young men to the Theological Institution to be educated as catechists or native pastors. The Institution is a model village, and the missionary in charge and his native assistants give their full time and strength to a work which has always been regarded as the hope of the Fijian Church. Most of the students are married, and their wives have received instruction in the Institution, by which means they have been able not only to make their homes brighter, but to assist in leading Society-classes, or teaching sewing to classes of girls, or holding mothers' meetings. Very pleasing testimonies are given of the efficiency of these native teachers in all their village work, and also of the consistency of their Christian character. The captain of a French ship of war, in an article on Fiji, accounts for the non-success of the French Roman Catholic priests, by the influence of the native teachers. Intelligent and educated young men, with the Protestant Bible in their hands, meet the priest in every village, making his work difficult and unpleasant. In no mission has a native agency been more largely or successfully employed. The men are converted and pious, and have given proof of their gifts and graces in a course of training extending generally over eight or ten years, before they are recommended as candidates for ordination. The real work of a missionary in charge of a Fijian circuit is now that of a bishop, directing a native clergy and watching over a system of education, spreading like a network everywhere. Every year he sends his candidates to the Theological Institution, and receives

his trained men to supply vacancies, or open new stations. The natives are proud of their own countrymen in these positions, and willingly and easily support them. It is impossible to estimate the influence of the Institution upon the Fijian Christian Church. Old New Zealand missionaries see now that the work among the Maories would have had a different fate if a trained native agency had been generally employed. When the war broke out between them and the English Government, the English missionaries were distrusted because they belonged to the usurping race, and they had no native ministers to leave in charge of the work. The Protestant mission in Tahiti has held its own since the French occupation, because, when the English missionary was compelled to leave or nationalise himself as a French subject, he was able to leave his work in the hands of suitably trained native teachers. The testimony of many writers is unanimous in reference to the system of training a native agency in Fiji.

"The mission house at Richmond is the best-appointed one that I have seen in the Fijis, or any of the South Sea Islands. The native town is neat and regularly built, and the little streets are clean and swept. . . . There can be no doubt of the moral effect on the surrounding natives of the example shown: the results were self-evident in the orderly condition of the town and native grounds, and the cleanly, neat, and tasty arrangement in the students' bedrooms and other apartments, than which I have seen few pleasanter sights."—*South Sea Islands* (Meade), p. 360.

"I was well repaid for my visit to the Institution. The beautiful order of the schoolroom delights the eye of the visitor. We proceeded to ascertain their mental attainments, and the examination passed off alike creditable to themselves and their teachers. The course of study is wisely selected, and this Institution is clearly the hope of Fiji, for native agents must be largely employed."—*Fiji and Fijians* (Rev. J. B. Smythe, H.M. Ship *Brisk*), Third Edition, p. 439.

"The whole establishment forms a model village, whose inhabitants are trained to habits of cleanliness, order and decency, as well as method and industry. We were much struck with the neatness and order which prevailed, and there seemed nothing to be desired in the arrangements. We examined the students, and were much gratified with the practical nature of the system pursued, and the intelligence and proficiency of the young men. They are taught everything necessary for their position as village pastors."—*Fiji and Fijians* (Captain Hope, R.N.), p. 440.

"The Institution is proving a very great blessing to Fiji. Our men who come from thence are incredibly improved. It is not only the teaching they get there, but the thorough drilling also, and the discipline of the whole system in worldly as well as spiritual matters, which works so powerfully for good upon them. Steadily but surely, a better class of men is being provided for the wants of Fiji."—*Fiji and Fijians*, p. 440.

Dr. Hannah's *Lectures*, translated by John Hunt, and *Outlines of Theology*, compiled mainly from Hodge, are the theological text-books in use. Few students in England have made better use of Dr. Hannah's *Lectures* than the late Joel Bulu and Paul Ve'a. Well grounded in theology and having marvellous knowledge of the Scriptures, they were impassioned and powerful preachers. When the Rev. Joseph Waterhouse, after mature thought, "decided that all the native agents should be at once supported by their own congregations," the principle of self-sustentation for the Fijian Christian Church was settled. It has been found to work admirably. To the natives, the teachers were no longer the agents of the missionary, but their own pastors. The teacher was not Europeanised in clothing, house, or furniture; his education was superior, but in manner of life he was one of themselves. The funds of the parent society were saved, a Scriptural duty was enjoined, maintaining the true relation between pastor and people, and tropical indolence was kept in check; neglect of work being reported to the missionary, for the people would not pay a man for doing nothing. Each village builds a suitable chapel and teacher's house, and provides for the support of the teacher, according to the fixed scale of the circuit, in money or in money's worth, generally in food and clothing, or in produce that can be exchanged for necessities. Fifty-eight ordained native ministers and 984 catechists are paid and well cared for by the people to whom they minister, and 1,405 local preachers give voluntary but useful service. In addition to 240 other preaching places, there are 900 chapels filled with attentive congregations, who have built them for themselves, without leaving any debt as a burden, and without troubling the chapel secretaries with a single schedule. More than eleven hundred pulpits are supplied every Sunday with Fijian preachers. The first native agents came from the Friendly Islands, and many Tongans have been trained in Fiji, and employed in the work there.

When Cross and Cargill, John Hunt and James Calvert commenced the work, they found much to grieve the heart and to disappoint even reasonable expectation. After years of patient work, we find in their letters many references to "unfruitful labours," and "barren ground," or "apparently useless toil." Their doubts and fears yielded at length to hope and expectation. The foundations of the mission were wisely and strongly laid, for the men were well chosen and peculiarly fitted for their work. While Hunt was translating the Scriptures, Calvert was managing the press, and pressing home the truth to every man's conscience, whether he met him by the wayside, or travelled with him on his canoe, or visited him in sickness. While R. B. Lyth, the medical missionary, was prolonging life and mitigating suffering by healing the sick, working out the problem of training catechists for their work, putting his own marks of conscientiousness and sensitive honour upon them, so that they bear the impress of his teaching to this day, Watsford was gathering the children, organising schools, and putting the Gospel into song and verse. The name of David Hazlewood has not been often heard in England, and scant justice has been done to his memory. He translated a large portion of the Old Testament, and compiled a scientific grammar and dictionary of the language, which made the work of all succeeding missionaries more easy. Hunt and Polglase and Hazlewood all died after about ten years' work, but to thousands of "graceful living bronzes in artistic drapery" the memory of each is most precious. Shipwreck brought to the press at Viwa a Frenchman, who rendered good service in the printing department, and who became a most accomplished preacher in the Fijian tongue. After the missionaries had printed, revised, and corrected the books of the Bible in the islands, the British and Foreign Bible Society nobly assisted them. The Society still supplies the Fijians with the Word of God, for which they cheerfully pay cost price.

By arbitrary methods, adopted for the purpose of isolation, the dialects were as numerous as the tribes; but the translation of the Bible into the pure classic Fijian of Bau tended, with the spread of Christianity, to make Bau supreme and its chief the Fijian king. For several years the group was divided into the Lau and Ra confederations, but these were blended when the powerful Lau chief, Maafu, accepted the appointment of viceroy to Cakobau. Then



the best native government that could be constructed out of the materials ruled with a simple but suitable code of laws.

The complications of the iniquitous "labour traffic" made the position of King Cakobau very difficult, and it was a great relief when, at his request, with the unanimous consent of his subjects, Queen Victoria accepted the sovereignty. The late Lord Mayor of London, W. McArthur, Esq., M.P., had much to do with the success of the movement in favour of annexation. In October, 1874, Fiji was made a crown colony. Its magnificent harbours, so important for English commerce in the Pacific, are ours; and the Fijians claim the protection of the British Empire, of which they now form an integral part. Sir Arthur Gordon commenced his work as Governor with many difficulties before him. The plague of measles, which had been sweeping through one group after another in the South Seas, carried off nearly one-third of the population of Fiji. The natives were disheartened by the pestilence. The white residents, vexed and disappointed by the low price of cotton, were struggling with poverty. Fortunately, the Government found a good adviser in the Hon. J. B. Thurston, an able administrator, who had formerly been associated with the British Consulate. His counsels greatly assisted the Governor in his endeavour to make the colony self-supporting. Probably many lines of administration were suggested by the plans in operation for mission purposes. He retained the native polity in preference to any mere imitation of European models, and employed native agency in departmental work, wherever practicable. Instead of superseding the native chiefs, he ruled through them, and rather than do everything for them, he left them to do as much as possible for themselves, himself supplying only direction and stimulus. For the poll-tax, paid in labour or in coin, he substituted a land-tax, to be paid in kind, and thus raised the revenue of the colony from £18,000 to £90,000 per annum. The land-tax resembles, but in its essential principle differs from, the Dutch system of culture common in the Dutch Malay islands. It is a method of tribal assessment purely native, and was already in operation in almost every village, for the payment of schoolmasters and local rates. The system is denounced by those who object to all taxes and by small traders, as slavery, government trading, &c. For the poll-

tax, paid in coin or labour, the traders or planters could make their own hard terms with the natives. The hope of their gains is gone. The Government, in the interest of the natives, procures for them, by contract with the merchants, the full value of their produce, grown and paid as tribute, and returns to them any surplus over the amount assessed. The system is working well. It promotes industry, and suits the habits and customs of the natives. Missionary collections were for many years made in kind, chiefly cocoa-nut oil. Now, money and notes are given, with pigs, poultry, cobra, oil, &c. But the missionary meeting is always a joyous time, associated with hospitality and the merry *meke meke* (native song).

It is strange to read of Levuka, the commercial capital of Fiji, as having three European churches (Wesleyan, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic), its Government House, its supreme and police courts; its Masonic, Odd Fellows' and Good Templars' Halls, Mechanics' Institute, Club Room, Bank, two newspaper establishments with bi-weekly issues, besides hotels, stores, shops, and *one cab*. The Government offices are being gradually removed to Suva, on Viti Levu, which place has a magnificent harbour, and is better adapted for a European settlement than Levuka. The Episcopalian church is for the English residents of that denomination, and its energetic clergyman is doing his best for their spiritual interests. The Roman Catholics have long had a branch of the French Propaganda in the islands, but their converts are few and their influence small. The Wesleyan is the Church of the people. Sir Arthur Gordon says, "Out of a population of 120,000, 102,000 are now regular worshippers with them." Their organisation is self-extending. Forty of the Fijian teachers have gone forth to New Britain and other islands on the coast of New Guinea. They have acquired the language of the people; and, gathering congregations and founding schools, they are preaching the Gospel of peace in the midst of savages even more degraded than were their own forefathers: of these islanders 2,300 have already been led to accept Christianity. The Fijians make good missionaries: difficulties do not dishearten, nor perils affright them. Where one falls under the club of the savage—and many have so fallen—others are ready to take up his work and proclaim to his murderers both the law and the Gospel.

The present difficulties of the missionaries in Fiji are new, and very different from those of the past. Complications with the Government on educational and other subjects are causing anxiety. The danger to native races arising from liquor shops increases with the European population, and with the Englishman's facilities for obtaining his national beverage.

Industrial schools for teaching European trades to the young people are much needed, and would slowly but surely break up their hereditary trade guilds. They are not quick to copy the habits or manufactures of other nations, and a gradual progress is more hopeful than the mere faculty of imitation.

One item under the head of "Extraordinary Income" in the General Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, for the present year, will excite surprise. A whole volume of missionary history and success is wrapped up in the line, "Insurance recovered *re John Wesley*, £1,716." It had for some time been in contemplation to sell the vessel, as no longer necessary for mission purposes, but the decision was hastened by the vessel arriving in Sydney under jury rigging, a dismantled wreck. She had been nearly lost in a terrible hurricane on her way to New Britain. The Rev. George Brown, with his band of Fijian helpers and all on board were mercifully delivered. When the various missionary societies commenced their work in the South Seas, commercial vessels were not running to the islands: the *John Wesley*, the *John Williams*, the *Southern Cross*, the *Morning Star*, were each a necessity to the society employing it. Now mail steamers or good sailing vessels run to all the mission stations; for a vast commerce has followed where Christian teaching has civilised the people. With the exception of a small inter-island schooner, very appropriately named the *John Hunt*, the mission vessel is no longer needed for Fiji, or the Friendly Islands. The fact is suggestive of the time when the foreign missionary will have rendered himself needless also, and the native Church will be self-governing.

It is difficult for modern missionaries to realise what were the hardships and sufferings of earlier days. Yet no happier men ever lived than the pioneer missionaries to cannibal Fiji. We see the men in their letters, and feel in their company the elevating power of goodness. Like a flower, preserved in its freshness, and fragrance, and colour,

their self-sacrifice, their love and heroism and sanctity have not been lost. Not only are their names a fragrant memory, but their deeds kindle enthusiasm, inspire faith, and brighten the future of missions with the light of a great hope. The history of the Fijian mission is full of interest, rich even to prodigality with the heroic and marvellous, and more romantic in its incident than the best-told tale of adventure. The life of Cakobau, well and fully written, would be a book of wonders.

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- ART. III.—1. *English Men of Letters*. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. "Daniel Defoe." By WILLIAM MINTO. London: Macmillan and Co. 1879.
2. *Daniel Defoe: His Life, and Recently Discovered Writings: extending from 1716 to 1729*. By WILLIAM LEE. In Three Volumes. London: John Camden Hotten. 1869.
3. *The Novels and Miscellaneous Works of Daniel De Foe. With a Biographical Memoir of the Author, Literary Prefaces to the various Pieces, Illustrative Notes, &c., including all contained in the Edition attributed to the late Sir Walter Scott, with Considerable Additions*. Twenty Volumes. Oxford: Printed by D. A. Talboys, for Thomas Tegg. London. 1841.

THE life of Defoe has been often written. Possibly the *Life* most frequently read is that by George Chalmers, both because it is the shortest and because it has been published in connection with more than one edition of Defoe's works; it forms, for example, the bulk of the twentieth volume of the Oxford Edition. Mr. Chalmers was the first in the field, and his biography evinces much care and research. More than half a century passed before another important memoir of Defoe was written. In 1830, Walter Wilson issued his three-volume *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel Defoe*. To the student of Defoe this book is still indispensable, and it is not likely to be soon superseded. It is a model of painstaking diligence and accuracy and of conscientious desire to do justice to its subject, though too elaborate for the general reader. Notwithstanding some very obvious faults of style, it may fairly rank as a "standard" biography, and its claim to this classification appears to be conceded. Mr. Hazlitt's *Life*, prefixed to an edition of Defoe's Works, calls for no remark; it displays the usual defects and excellencies of that brilliant but somewhat shallow critic, but adds little to our knowledge of the man it treats of. Mr. John Forster's *Essay on Daniel Defoe*, issued in 1855, is worthy of his subsequent reputation; it is one of the most finished of his literary

efforts, and its estimate of Defoe is at once appreciative and discriminating. There followed, after an interval of four years, *The Life and Times of Daniel Defoe: with Remarks Digressive and Discursive. By William Chadwick.* Of all Defoe's biographers Mr. Chadwick is the most enthusiastic admirer of his political career. From first to last it wins his unqualified praise. He makes copious and well-chosen extracts from Defoe's political tracts and satires, and refers to the events of his life in something like chronological order; but a reader previously unacquainted with Defoe's history would find considerable difficulty in gaining from Mr. Chadwick's pages a connected account of his life and work, to say nothing of his times. Indeed, the book was written palpably to give expression to its author's thorough-going radicalism, much more for the sake of its "remarks," justly called "digressive and discursive," than for the sake of its hero. On this account probably it is that Mr. Minto passes by Mr. Chadwick's *Life* in contemptuous silence. But the book is not without its value; the writer's hearty sympathy with Defoe's ecclesiastical and political opinions affords him an insight into the complex and often contradictory motives that influenced the partisan pamphleteer that more impartial writers necessarily lack, at least to the same extent. We have placed Mr. Lee's volumes at the head of this paper in preference to any of those we have just enumerated, because Mr. Lee's is the only *Life* of Defoe which treats of all the facts. The former biographers with one accord state that Defoe retired from political strife in 1715, and spent his leisure in writing the stories upon which his fame now chiefly rests. Mr. Lee has shown that his political activity ceased only with his life. A fortunate discovery of some letters of Defoe's in the State-Paper Office started Mr. Lee upon a course of investigation which resulted in a complete reversal of the established view concerning his latter days. The first of Mr. Lee's volumes is occupied with a *Life of Defoe*, which narrates his history with sufficient minuteness and considerable literary skill. Mr. Minto has manifested good judgment in adopting Mr. Lee's work as the basis of his own. The volume of *English Men of Letters*, devoted to Defoe, ranks worthily with the rest of the series. It contains a fair and able summary of his career, and evidently proceeds from a practised pen. Admirers of Defoe will think that their



hero receives scant justice, and the critic cannot help suspecting that before he was employed to write this volume Mr. Minto had given no special attention to its subject, though he has done his utmost to prepare himself efficiently for his task since it was assigned to him.

No complete collection of the works of Defoe exists, not even in the British Museum. It is not too much to say that no perfect catalogue of his works has been compiled. Mr. Lee's list tabulates two hundred and fifty-four distinct publications, without reckoning new editions, and occupies twenty-eight octavo pages. But most competent judges would pronounce this carefully drawn up catalogue both defective and redundant; and they would pass a similar sentence upon all the lists that have been compiled, while no two would agree as to what should be excluded, what added, and what retained. This difference of opinion is not surprising when it is remembered that Defoe published much anonymously and much under *noms de plume*, and that pamphleteers of the period, anxious to sell their wares, would affix his name to sheets he had never seen till they were publicly sold. Defoe's style is readily recognisable by those who are familiar with it. Very few English authors have a style so peculiarly their own; but when the evidence of the genuineness of a tract is purely internal, critics are sure to attach varying degrees of weight to it. The collected editions of Defoe's writings contain but a small portion of the productions of his prodigiously fertile pen. Even the Oxford edition omits far more than it includes. An edition in six volumes forms part of *Bohn's Standard Library*, and is both good and cheap. It contains, however, a great deal that only a student of Defoe should read. The one-volume selection published by William P. Nimmo, at a remarkably low price, will satisfy most readers. From it a fair idea may be gathered of Defoe's genius, and it contains as little as possible of objectionable matter.

If Defoe's contemporaries could learn his present reputation, they would be astonished in no small degree. They would wonder that the fame of the author of *The True-born Englishman* had been eclipsed by that of the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, and that *The Complete English Tradesman* and the *New Family Instructor* were less remembered than *The History of the Great Plague in London* and the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*. They would scarcely credit that Daniel

Defoe was better known and more highly esteemed for his services to literature than to politics, and they might possibly be surprised that his efforts as a social reformer had received so little recognition. Let us see what manner of man he was, what debt his own generation owed him, what debt posterity owes him still. It is an arduous task we have set ourselves, for his character is by no means easy of comprehension: in life his hand was against almost every man's, and almost every man's hand was against him; the malice which defamed him living pursues his memory; old battles have been fought and refought over his grave; and now and again extravagant eulogy has contributed its share to the distortion of his image.

Daniel Defoe was born the year after the Restoration. The mystery which enshrouds so much of his life attaches to his ancestry. It is certain that his father was James Foe, a butcher in Cripplegate, and that his grandfather was a substantial yeoman of Huntingdonshire, rich enough to keep a pack of hounds, and independent enough, during the Great Rebellion, to affix the names of the leaders of both parties to his dogs. But how the son of the wealthy squire or farmer sank into the humble position of a retail tradesman, no one knows. Daniel's genealogy cannot be traced higher than his grandfather. Conjecture has busied itself about his family, but to little profit. It is just possible that the Foes were a cadet branch of one of the aristocratic houses of De Vaux, or Devereux; or they may have been of Saxon descent, in which case the peculiar surname requires to be accounted for. Perhaps the suggestion that solves most difficulties is that made in *Notes and Queries*, March 7, 1868, that De Foe is a corruption of De Foy, or De Foix, the name of some Huguenot refugee, the spelling being chosen to save the sound of the patronymic at the expense of its orthography. Mr. Minto sneers at Defoe's "vanity" in "making the world believe that he himself was of Norman-French origin;" but the prefix to his surname may well have been his rightfully, and there are other sources from which it may have been drawn than our Norman-French aristocracy, which Mr. Minto strangely overlooks. Besides, the extreme irregularity of Defoe's spelling of his name shows that he attached no importance whatever to the patrician prefix.

James Foe was a communicant at the church of Dr. Samuel Annesley, the father of Susanna Wesley. It is

pretty evident that he did not come of a Dissenting stock ; but when the Act of Uniformity deprived Dr. Annesley of his living, he followed his pastor to the meeting-house. Thus it came about that Daniel was bred a Dissenter. The unlovely childhood too frequently developed under Puritan rigour had no place in his life. His training, especially in the matter of amusements and recreations, was after a more liberal fashion. He was encouraged to take an interest in sports and exercises very rarely allowed in Dissenting households ; and in after life he referred with thankfulness to the lesson of generous fair play "a boxing English boy" taught him. At the age of fourteen his father sent him to the most distinguished Nonconformist academy of the day, kept by "that polite and profound scholar," the Rev. Charles Morton, at Newington Green. Amongst his fellow-pupils were Samuel Wesley and a certain Timothy Crusoe, whose name was destined to become famous. Defoe's subsequent political pamphleteering exposed him to coarse personal insults, most of which he bore with contemptuous indifference. But a gibe at his education, or at the character of Mr. Morton's school, could rouse him to unappeasable rage. When Tutchin and Swift twitted him with his scanty scholarship, he retorted in a style at once boastful and effective. And when Samuel Wesley stooped to vilifying the establishment in which he had himself been educated gratuitously, Defoe replied with no less force than indignation. Whatever may have been the quality of the teaching at Mr. Morton's, Defoe laid there the foundation of very extensive acquirements.

The Newington Green seminary served the Dissenters as a theological institution as well as an academy for their youth. Probably Daniel's father destined him for the ministry from the first ; at any rate he passed through the theological course. His books abound with allusions, reflections, and discussions that manifest the strong impression those early studies had made upon his mind. He could not be prevailed upon, however, to follow a profession for which he felt himself unfit ; nor could he brook the servile position which the majority of Dissenting ministers were compelled to assume. He chose rather to devote himself to commerce, and in 1683 entered the counting-house of a wholesale hose-factor. Very slight must have been his attention to his business, though a more industrious man never lived. The accession of James I. found him free from his quasi-ap-

prenticeship. He used his liberty to join the insane insurrection under Monmouth, but was fortunate enough to escape from the fatal field of Sedgemoor, and the more fearful Bloody Assize.\* As soon as the storm had blown over and he could safely emerge from his hiding-place, he began business as a hosier on his own account. He appears to have written several anonymous pamphlets; if so, they are all, with one more or less doubtful exception, hopelessly lost. Mr. Lee, believes he can identify as Defoe's "A LETTER, containing some Reflections on His Majesty's Declaration for LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE. Dated the 4th April, 1687," and he places it at the head of his catalogue of Defoe's works. The matter and manner well accord with the presumed authorship. Defoe would have none of the indulgence; better suffer with the Papists than be emancipated with them: for he shrewdly perceived whither the plausible Declaration would lead.

No one rejoiced more cordially in the Revolution of 1688 than Daniel Defoe. He was one of a volunteer regiment of horse that escorted their majesties to a banquet given them by the Lord Mayor. The first unquestionably genuine brochure of his was published in 1691; it was a satire in rhyme directed against a Jacobite plot. Meantime, his own affairs were far from prosperous, and he was declared bankrupt in 1692. He ascribed his failure to the dishonesty of some whom he had trusted, and probably with truth, for as a merchant he was both capable and enterprising. For two years he sinks out of view, and we have only vague guesses and apocryphal stories as to his occupations. His chief creditors blamed him so little, that they remitted the major portion of their debts; and that he had not lost caste in the mercantile world is proved by advantageous offers of employment in foreign agencies. Let it be mentioned to Defoe's honour that, though he was legally discharged from his liabilities, eventually he paid his creditors in full, an act of almost unparalleled honesty at that time. Two years after his bankruptcy he was appointed

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\* Defoe calls himself, in his *Appeal to Honour and Justice*, "a man that had been in arms under Monmouth." Much unnecessary doubt has been thrown upon the statement. The ground of the doubt was the difficulty of believing that so notorious a lampooner as the writer of the two parts of the *Speculum Crape-gownorum* could have concealed himself. But there is not a particle of evidence to connect Defoe with the *Speculum*; nor in its style can we recognise even his 'prentice hand.

Accountant to the Commissioners of the Glass Duty, a favour he owed to some popular political pamphlets in defence of the Government. It must have been about this time that he commenced his manufactory of pantiles at Tilbury, the stipend of his clerkship being but small.

Daniel Defoe was a thorough-going Dissenter, religiously no less than politically. Nor did he ever conceal his sentiments; a sturdy and even pugnacious sincerity forced him to avow them in season and out of season, and to censure almost uncharitably everything that seemed to him to smack of half-heartedness in his brethren. At Tooting, where he resided for a while, he founded a Nonconformist chapel, and scrupulously attended its services. The death of Dr. Annesley evoked from him an elegy more creditable to his emotions than to his muse.\* But in January, 1698, he sowed the seeds that ripened into enmity against him on the part of the Nonconformists, and something very like scorn towards them on his. He had always looked askance at the practice of occasional conformity as an unworthy sacrifice upon the altar of expediency. Sir Humphrey Edwin, a Presbyterian lord mayor, was an occasional conformist. Anxious to do honour to his own place of worship, he went there one Sunday in state, the regalia being carried before him. The outcry from Churchmen of all shades grew furious, and the propriety of abolishing the custom was seriously discussed. Defoe joined in the argument with a tractate bearing the appropriate motto, "*If the Lord be God, follow Him; but if Baal, then follow him.*" The sentiment of the disquisition may be inferred from its motto. It strongly urged Dissenters to relinquish the indulgence allowed by the law, and to be bold and firm in their adherence to their principles. The two main pillars of his appeal were, first, that no Act of Parliament could make the sacrament of the Lord's Supper a civil ceremony; and, secondly, that occasional conformity was, legally and morally, a profession of membership in the Church of England, which no Dissenter could assume without dishonesty and hypocrisy. He issued a second edition in 1700, when the celebrated Sir Thomas Abney, then a member of John Howe's church, took the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church, on his accession

\* It is all but certain that Daniel Defoe married Dr. Annesley's eldest daughter, thus becoming the brother-in-law of Susanna, and the uncle of John and Charles Wesley.

to the mayoralty. By way of preface he penned a letter to Howe, calling upon him to repudiate so scandalous a practice. John Howe\* replied angrily and, it must be confessed, weakly: though perhaps he put as good a case as his brief permitted. He evades the real issues, and talks loosely about Christian charity and kindred topics. The controversy lasted for some time, until indeed the custom was prohibited by the Legislature. Let us hear one or two of Defoe's sentences, to catch the genuine ring of them:

"There is but one best [way of serving God], and he that gives God two bests, gives Him the best and the worst; the one spoils the other, till both are good for nothing.

"He who dissents from the Established Church on any account but from a real principle of conscience, is a political, not a religious dissenter.

"Nothing can be lawful and unlawful at the same time. If it be not lawful for me to dissent, I ought to conform; but if it be unlawful for me to conform, I must dissent; several opinions may at the same time consist in a country, in a family, but not in one entire person; that is impossible.

"It [receiving the Communion as a non-religious ceremony] is nothing but playing at *bo-peep* with God Almighty. . . . These lord mayors and sheriffs may be necessary for the preservation of the State; but they are such patriots as will damn their souls to save their country.

"As for religion, when a man prostitutes it to interest, he might as well be a Turk, Jew, Papist, or anything."

Sound logic this; sterling sense, and, above all, invincible sincerity. But to appreciate it at its true worth, we must bear in mind that the idea of attendance upon church or meeting-house from mere personal preference had scarcely entered into any one's conception when these words were uttered. Dissent meant rejection of the doctrines of the Church of England, even more than its government, as anti-Scriptural. The defenders of occasional conformity justified themselves on the ground that communicating in the Church of England was a bare form, of no spiritual significance, and that their hearts did not consent to the words they heard and repeated. Defoe's biographers, especially the more recent, have scarcely

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\* It is slightly amusing to be told by Mr. Minto parenthetically that "Mr. Howe" was "an eminent dissenting minister" of the period. Apparently Mr. Minto has never heard of *The Living Temple*.



understood the nobility of his action in this matter, which cost him some of his closest friends. Mr. Lee thinks the affair unimportant and uninteresting. Mr. Minto becomes perfectly bewildered, as though he were unable to follow quite straightforward reasoning. He accuses Defoe of inconsistency, because he exhorted Dissenters not to stoop to so dishonourable an entrance to office as prostitution of the Lord's Supper, and yet complains that the law will not admit them to office without so degrading a test. The inconsistency certainly is not very easy to see. To claim a right, and nevertheless to refuse to obtain it by unworthy means, should be compatible with each other.

It is illustrative of Defoe's intellectual many-sidedness that while he was engaged hotly in political and religious-political controversy, and conducting extensive commercial transactions, he could meditate schemes of social reform. His prodigiously fertile pen never produced a more remarkable book than his *Essay upon Projects*, which was given to the world in 1698. After some criticism of its contents, Mr. Minto declares, "The *Essay on Projects* might alone be adduced in proof of Defoe's title to genius;" and few readers of it will be inclined to differ from him. It may be questioned to what extent this collection of essays can claim the merit of originality, *i.e.*, how far their author only gave shape to ideas that were loosely floating in the thought of the time. It may be argued too, that though the suggested ends have been reached, it has not been by the indicated means. But after every deduction is made, the fact remains that Defoe anticipated many of the most beneficial social improvements of our own day. He advocated, amongst other schemes, asylums for and kind treatment of idiots and lunatics, savings banks, benefit societies, the higher education of women, the registration of seamen, bankruptcy courts, highway boards, and even the income tax.

In Defoe's day the literary warfare of party politics was carried on almost entirely by pamphlets and broadsheets. These were to his contemporaries what the newspaper and leading article are to us. Defoe lived in the palmiest period of the political pamphlet; and he was an acknowledged master in the craft. He was soon to achieve the greatest success he ever scored, if success is to be measured by popularity and immediate effect. However

easily the unpopularity of William III. towards the end of his reign may be explained, the unreasoning persistence with which his statesmanlike measures were opposed, and the virulent malice to which he was subjected, cannot be excused. Insular jealousy perhaps had more to do with it than it is pleasant to allow. Selfishness and spite are invariably short-sighted. To annoy the king, the religion and liberty of Protestant Europe, England included, were endangered. Among the few who saw the risks the country was running, and who felt the ingratitude with which William of Orange was treated, was Daniel Defoe. Again and again he strove to convince the nation that both policy and gratitude demanded that England should maintain a standing army under the control of the king, ought not to suffer William's Dutch dominions to be attacked without herself hastening to their defence, and would act with a wise regard to her own interests if she endeavoured to check Louis XIV.'s schemes of aggrandisement. The people did him the honour to read his arguments and appeals, and to pay no further attention to them. "Dutch William" and his most trusted counsellors were not Englishmen; what plea could prevail against this damning fact? "One Mr. Tutchin" gave expression to this popular sentiment in a doggerel poem entitled *The Foreigners*, the drift of which is sufficiently indicated by its name. Defoe retorted with *The True-born Englishman*. Its sale was enormous. Nine genuine and at least as many spurious editions were issued in a single year; eighty thousand pirated copies were sold in the streets. It laughed the prejudice against King William out of existence. Long after the occasion of it had passed away, it was printed and reprinted, and read with fresh delight. The point of the satire is that, notwithstanding their boasts of purity of blood, and their dislike of foreigners, Englishmen are but foreigners themselves. The idea, once conceived as the subject of a satire, might almost be left to work itself out. It suffices to tell the truth about the composition of the British people; and this Defoe does in a direct, homely fashion, in rough, strong verse, which, unlike most pasquinades, it is nearly always possible to scan:

"These are the heroes that despise the Dutch,  
And rail at new-come foreigners so much;  
Forgetting that themselves are all derived  
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived;

A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones,  
Who ransacked kingdoms and dispeopled towns;  
The Pict and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,  
By hunger, theft, and rapine hither brought;  
Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,  
Whose red-hair'd offspring everywhere remains;  
Who, joined with Norman-French, compound the breed  
From whence your true-born Englishmen proceed."

The nobility fare no better than the populace. Unfortunately the *amours* of the second Charles supplied the poet with only too conspicuous a butt for his burly wit. To make good the loss of blue blood in the Civil War, "the royal refugee"—

"Carefully repeopled us again,  
Throughout his lazy, long, lascivious reign,  
With such a blest and true-born English fry  
As much illustrates our nobility.  
\* \* \* \*

This offspring, if our age they multiply,  
May half the house with English peers supply;  
Then with true English pride they may contemn  
Schomberg and Portland, new-made noblemen."

Even our great Norman houses are of mushroom growth compared with the high antiquity of the noble houses of France, Germany, and Austria. They boast that their progenitors "came over with the Conqueror:"

"Yet who the hero was no man can tell,  
Whether a drummer or a colonel."

Nor does it much matter, for—

"Wealth, howsoever got, in England makes  
Lords of mechanics, gentlemen of rakes."

And—

"Great families of yesterday we show,  
And lords, whose parents were the Lord knows who."

Certainly there is vigour in this satire, however much it may lack polish.

The national manners, Defoe goes on to show, are worthy of the national origin. Unchastity and drunkenness defile high and low alike. 'Tis well known that—

"An Englishman will fairly drink as much  
As will maintain two families of Dutch."

England's treatment of William III. in its turn comes under the lash, and a spirited defence of some of the most unpopular features of the royal conduct follows. The concluding couplet of the satire—

“For fame of families is all a cheat;  
It's personal virtue only makes us great,”

recalls the laureate's smother and weaker lines to Lady Clara Vere de Vere, as well as the forceful verse of Burns, which ends—

“The pith o' sense, the pride o' worth,  
Are higher ranks than a' that”—

both of which it anticipated, if it did not inspire.

The sting of the satire lay in its truthfulness. It is something to the credit of the English people that they accepted the correction kindly, enjoyed heartily the laugh against themselves, and began to be ashamed of their intolerance. The poem did yeoman's service to the king, and he was not slow to acknowledge it. The exact relations between Defoe and William III. cannot be ascertained. The author acquired no little of the monarch's confidence. Something distantly akin to friendship sprang up between the strangely-assorted pair. William at last found an Englishman able to understand and sympathise with him, and Defoe a master he could serve with profound and cordial esteem. Mr. Minto denominates Defoe “King William's Adjutant,” a title to which he has at least some shadow of right.

The general election of 1701 resulted in the return of a large Tory—i.e., Jacobite or semi-Jacobite—majority. The stronghold of the Whigs was the House of Lords. Encouraged by the Upper House, the King resolved upon supporting the overmatched enemies of the Grand Monarque. His appeal to the Commons for supplies procured barely sufficient funds to carry on the home government. Amongst the multitudinous remonstrances addressed to them was the celebrated “Kentish Petition,” still thought to be the handiwork of Defoe. It was signed by all the magnates of the county, and presented at the bar by five of its subscribers. The Commons committed the five petitioners to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms on the Speaker's warrant. Against this high-handed proceeding Defoe drew up a protest couched in

bold, not to say violent, language. "Gentlemen," it concludes, "you have your duty laid before you, which, 'tis hoped, you will think of; but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the resentments of an injured nation; for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to Parliaments than to a King. Our Name is Legion, and we are Many." Accompanied by sixteen gentlemen to protect his person, Defoe himself presented *Legion's Memorial* to the House. The document effected its purpose: the petitioners were released, and the supplies voted. Defoe received his share of applause as one who is conscious he is awarded no more than his due.

From the royal closet to the public pillory is a fearful fall, yet in less than twelve months Defoe experienced both extremes. The first element in his misfortune was the death of William III. His narrow-minded successor, who made it her proudest boast that she befriended the Church of England, was not likely to show much favour to the Dissenting pamphleteer. The Highflying Tory Ministry would count him amongst their enemies. The immediate cause of his punishment was the publication of a very clever and effective tract. The controversy stirred up by the "Bill to Abolish Occasional Conformity" had roused angry passions on both sides. Violent proposals had been suggested for the suppression of dissent; and an impetuous torrent of foul abuse had been poured upon the heads of the Dissenters, who scarcely dared to retaliate lest they should excite their opponents to ungovernable rage. Defoe plainly perceived that direct argument would be of no avail; it would not even be listened to. In an evil hour for himself he wrote *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*. In it he performed the perilous feat of out-Heroding Herod. Treat the Nonconformists, it advised, precisely as Louis XIV. treated the Huguenots. Close their chapels; hang their ministers; banish their adherents. There was no possible danger in the process; the Dissenters of England were not of the mettle of the Protestants of France. "The spirit of martyrdom is over. They that would go to church to be chosen mayors and sheriffs would go to forty churches rather than be hanged. . . . Let us crucify the thieves, . . . and may God Almighty put it into the hearts of all friends of truth to lift up a standard against pride and Antichrist, that the posterity of the sons of error may be rooted out from the

face of the land for ever." The writer of this "piece" had caught the style and sentiment of the Highflyers to admiration. He gave only an extreme exposition of their doctrines, an exaggerated imitation of their language. He desired to shame them into toleration, to ridicule them into decency. It is difficult to believe in this nineteenth century that by both Churchman and Dissenter the satire was mistaken for sober earnest. Neither party deemed the preposterous proposals impracticable. The Dissenters trembled lest they should be executed; the Churchmen shrieked with delight and blasphemously prayed Almighty God to put it into the Queen's heart to carry them out. Let any one who wishes to realise the position of Dissenters at the commencement of the last century carefully peruse *The Shortest Way*, and then remember that it was universally received as a serious attempt at the solution of a grave political and religious question. He will learn more from this one fact than Acts of Parliament could teach him. Defoe stood aghast at the effect of his booklet. As he said afterwards, he had overrated the intelligence of the nation; and perhaps he had underrated the virulence of the Highflyers. Slowly the secret of his intention and then that of his authorship leaked out; indeed there was but one man in England with wit and courage enough for such a deed. The friends for whom, the foes against whom, the doughty blow had been struck vied with each other in exasperation. For the anger of the latter there was some excuse; they had walked blindly into a dangerous snare, from which they could not extricate themselves without abandoning ground they were reluctant to yield. But the former had only themselves to thank for their timid stupidity; if panic had stultified their powers of perception, they might cheerfully forgive their fright to a champion who had done such dire damage to the enemy. But wounded self-esteem is cruel as jealousy. Defoe had been the innocent instrument of lowering the Dissenters in their own eyes, and they vented their vexation on him instead of themselves. Urged by all parties, the Government issued a warrant against him, and, when he absconded, a reward of £50 for his apprehension.\* To save printer

\* The hue and cry for him contains the only extant description of Daniel Defoe's personal appearance. Portraits of him differ so much as to be quite untrustworthy. He is described as "a middle-size spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown-coloured hair, but wears



and publisher from punishment, he surrendered himself, and was immediately committed to Newgate and ordered to take his trial before the Queen's Bench. He prepared for a vigorous defence, intending to argue from Highflying speeches and writings that he had but carried their principles to legitimate conclusions. Alarmed at the mischief this contention boldly and skilfully supported might work their cause, the Government promised him either free pardon or a merely nominal sentence if he would plead guilty. Guilty of what? The query does not admit of a very definite reply. Certainly he had not libelled Her Majesty's Ministers; he had not incited the people to sedition. Nevertheless in faith in the compact, he acknowledged himself a criminal. The bargain was scandalously broken: the Attorney-General exerted himself to inflame the judges against the prisoner. Defoe was condemned to pay two hundred marks to the Queen, to stand three times in the pillory, to find sureties for good behaviour for seven years, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. The severity of the sentence shows how sharply his sarcasm had bitten. The book had been burnt by the hangman while its author was in hiding.

The fine Defoe was utterly unable to pay. The prosecution had ruined him. The pantile manufactory had barely supplied funds for his somewhat expensive style of living. The imprisonment he could bear; it involved no hard labour; and he seems to have been indulged with a private apartment of some sort. But the pillory—for an unpopular man that might mean serious personal injury, perhaps even death. It was a well understood portion of the penalty that the victim was exposed to the playfulness of the mob, who pelted him with any missiles convenient to their hand. Lucky might he deem himself if the shower consisted merely of rotten eggs and cabbage-stalks. Wretches were frequently removed from the pillory cruelly wounded and bruised, fainting with exhaustion. Sometimes a corpse was taken down from the spot on which a living man had been set up. Convinced that daring was his safest policy, Defoe wrote his *Hymn to the Pillory*, in which he represented himself as a martyr to the cause of the people, and the Government as tyrants, and gloried in his sufferings for the sake of liberty. His witty audacity

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a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth."

saved, as it had formerly betrayed, him. A guard of gentlemen surrounded the "state-machine" and kept back the crowd, who, on their part, intended no harm to the criminal, but drank his health and vociferously chanted his *Hymn*. The deadliest bolts aimed at him were *bouquets*, and the very pillory was garlanded with flowers.

For a man of Defoe's resources and employments, and intense interest in all sorts and conditions of men, Newgate would not be an altogether uncomfortable residence. From some expressions of his we gather that to provide for his wife and six children caused him much anxiety, but their needs appear to have been met. In prison he bent himself with more energy than ever to literary work. First he must explain and defend his *Shortest Way*, and expound his views on the relations of the Established Church and the Dissenters. What those views were cannot now be ascertained as precisely as might be imagined. For Defoe was possessed by, rather than possessed, a certain intellectual subtlety which luxuriated in framing and supporting paradoxical propositions, in travelling with an adversary till you think both *must* reach the same goal, and suddenly parting company with him and ingeniously arriving at an unexpected conclusion. Nor is he invariably quite self-consistent, though he has generally convinced himself of the harmony of his arguments. His position perhaps approximated closely to that still held by some moderate Dissenters: that alliance between the Church and the State was unobjectionable, if not indeed highly expedient, but that the most complete toleration should be extended to all Protestant Nonconformists. In the then condition of public feeling he considered it unwise for Dissenters to demand admission to magisterial and municipal office. Let them be content with religious freedom, and wait patiently for the rest. Whatever may be the intrinsic value of these opinions, they manifest an independent and impartial mind.

In prison Defoe began what some of his admirers think his greatest work, not excepting *Robinson Crusoe*. On the nineteenth of February, 1704, he issued the first number of the *Review*. It appeared continuously till the middle of June, 1713, part of the time twice and part thrice a week. The venture was a novel one, and the paper remains unique to the present day. A newspaper it could not be, for how was a prisoner in Newgate to collect intelligence?

He could comment on current politics, he could bring his extensive knowledge of history and geography to bear upon continental affairs, he could reprove, rebuke, and exhort. What stronger proof of Defoe's influence could be adduced than that for nine years the nation listened to and paid for his advice? During the whole of that period not a line was written in the *Review* by any hand but his own, and, though in general faithful to politics, it contained "essays on almost every branch of human knowledge." "If we add," says Mr. Lee, "that, between the dates of the first and last numbers of the *Review*, he wrote and published no less than eighty other distinct works, containing 4,727 pages, and perhaps more, not now known, the fertility of his genius must appear as astonishing as the greatness of his capacity for labour."

Defoe remained in gaol till August, 1704. He owed his release to Robert Harley, one of whose earliest acts on his appointment to the Chief Secretaryship of State was to send a messenger to the unfortunate author, "Pray, ask that gentleman what I can do for him." The reply was touchingly characteristic—a few verses from the New Testament telling the story of the blind man who answered our Lord's question, 'What wilt thou that I should do unto thee?' as if he had made it strange that such a question should be asked, or as if he had said, *Lord, dost thou see that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shalt do for me? My answer is plain in my misery, Lord, that I may receive my sight!* Harley was quick to read the riddle, but Defoe's incarceration did not terminate till four months after the kindly question. Probably even the powerful influence exercised in his behalf did not effect his deliverance without difficulty. There are indications that Queen Anne was not disposed to consent to it.

According to his own admission, Defoe was freed "upon capitulations;" but their precise terms never transpired. He stated emphatically that the sole covenant into which he had entered bound him only not to write that which "some people might not like." His enemies insisted that he had become the hireling of the administration, and that his superlative cleverness enabled him to spread a plausible varnish of honesty and independence over retained and hypocritical advocacy. His relations with Harley and afterwards with Godolphin are the Gordian knots of the unusually "tangled skein" of his life. The biographers

generally defend his candour, and treat the assertions of his adversaries as pure slanders. They were not, however, in possession of the entire evidence, at least as to the *character* of the man whose conduct was impugned. By a lucky accident—of which none but a student of Defoe could have availed himself—Mr. Lee discovered that Defoe, towards the end of his life, combined an open though unostentatious connection with the Jacobite press and a secret understanding with the Whig Government. Mr. Lee justifies his hero; and, let us say at once, not without some reason. But whatever may have been the morality of the arrangement, it demonstrates that Defoe was quite capable of playing a double part, if he thought he could serve his country thereby. The question is, whether he would stoop to deception for his own exclusive benefit, and whether the services he rendered to two ministries of not quite the same politics were inconsistent with fair dealing. Mr. Minto pronounces roundly that from the date of his release from Newgate, “The true-born Englishman was, indeed, dead,” and accuses him of “serving two masters, persuading each that he served him alone.” What are the facts? Space will not permit any approach to an exhaustive examination of Defoe’s political career from 1704 to 1715. That would require us to rewrite the history of the time. And the busy author’s political articles and tracts during the eleven years were well-nigh numberless. Our investigation must be in brief outline, and we must deal with results rather than with processes.

We have it upon his own authority that for the whole of this period Defoe enjoyed some sort of office under the Crown, and that he was frequently employed upon special services, both open and secret. It is equally true that he lost no opportunity of protesting in his publications that his support and criticism of the ministry were absolutely unbiassed, that he was quite free to give or withhold commendation as his deliberate judgment dictated. He took up the position of an independent but friendly critic, loosed from all party ties, animated only by motives of patriotism. He considered that gratitude to Harley forbade him to attack that statesman or to denounce his measures. As a practical politician, he endeavoured to promote, not the course best in the abstract, but the best feasible in the then existing circumstances. Upon the dismissal of Harley Defoe prepared to follow his friend’s

fortunes, but was distinctly advised by the fallen minister to act as a permanent subordinate of the Treasury, a recommendation which Harley's successor, Godolphin, strongly supported. When Harley became Prime Minister once more, Defoe again offered to resign his post, if Godolphin desired it, and was again assured that this step was altogether unnecessary, for he was the servant of the Queen, not of the Cabinet. It will scarcely be contended that there was aught dishonourable in the situation which Defoe occupied. Granted that he must use his pen upon politics at all—and to Defoe this postulate cannot be denied—how could he exercise it under less restraint? His obligations to Harley would not permit him to ally himself with the Opposition, even if he had been otherwise so disposed. He therefore accepted a retaining fee from the Government upon the distinct and reiterated condition that his own reason and conscience should guide his hand. The position might be dangerous, but it was not essentially degrading. But, hostile critics object, no sentiments of thankfulness bound him to Godolphin; he need not have worn the second livery. It suffices to reply that the substitution of the latter statesman for the former brought the ministry into closer accordance with his own opinions. Of course, the retort lies ready that neither for gratitude nor for gold should an author support a government with which on the whole he disagrees. He cannot confine his approval to the particular measures he praises, unless he deals as freely in censure as in laudation. Perhaps even some of Defoe's warmest admirers have erred in the line of defence they have taken up. To limit the service rendered to the ministry leaves an uneasy and, as we think, a false impression that Defoe wrote in favour of a party which his heart condemned. In truth, his keen, impartial mind scorned the trammels of party: on this point his judgment coincided with the one, on that with the other, on a third with neither. He differed from Harley and Godolphin as little as he was likely to differ from any statesmen who might be the chosen counsellors of the Queen.

From the posture he stood in, turn to the words he wrote. We cannot trace the arguments and appeals he addressed to his countrymen. Let two facts witness to his integrity: his severest critics have failed to discover a single sentence that could not have proceeded from a per-

fectly honest pen; and he dared to express his dissent from Harley on matters of weighty moment. Mr. Chadwick doubts whether Defoe's account with his benefactor's government does not show a balance of opposition. We should transfer the balance to the other side, but the question will bear discussion. Mr. Minto, who christens Defoe "the arch-liar," and talks about his "incomparable plausibility," his keeping up "the appearance of impartiality," his conviction that "the appearance of honesty was the best policy," is yet compelled to admit that certain changes of exhortation on which his enemies animadverted strongly—*e.g.*, to press the war with France at one time, to make an advantageous peace at another—were amply justified by change of circumstances; and that in his "efforts to promote party peace and national union"—efforts which exposed him to the fiercest obloquy—"Defoe acted like a lover of his country, and that his aims were the aims of a statesmanlike as well as an honest man."

The case as to his connection with Harley's second administration does not run in perfect parallelism with that as to his employment by the two preceding ministries. In 1710 Harley had made it manifest that his boasted "moderation" was gravitating towards the Tories, and in about a twelvemonth the alliance between him and them was complete. The Highfliers, as a whole, stood aloof from him, to his little grief; but he was the recognised leader of the Tory party. How could Defoe consistently and conscientiously lend any aid to such a coalition? He had strained every nerve to avert the downfall of Godolphin; the sincerity of his effort is beyond suspicion. Mr. Minto declares "one hardly knows which to admire most, the loyalty with which he stuck to the falling house till the moment of its collapse, or the adroitness with which he escaped from its ruins." "Adroitness" is a happier term than those which Mr. Minto does not scruple to use in this connection, than "shiftiness," for instance. We have seen that Defoe doubted whether he ought to retain his place under Harley, so loyal and zealous had been his support of the Whig ministry. Critics of Defoe, we think, have scarcely accentuated with sufficient strength the contrast between his articles in favour of the Whig Government, and his articles in favour of a government in which Tories predominated. The sum and substance of his plea for the latter is, that the Tories can do no great mischief



so long as they have moderate Whigs for their colleagues; that the preponderating subject of Whig concern was the maintenance of the Protestant settlement; and that while the Tories supported that, they were Whigs in reality whatever they might be in name. Next in importance to the Protestant succession, as he believed, was the upholding of public credit, specially in time of war: abuse of the ministry had already affected England's credit adversely. "Though I don't like the crew," he cried, "I won't sink the ship. I'll do my best to save the ship. . . . We are all in the ship, and must sink or swim together." It is plainly impossible to affix the stigma of dishonesty to this conduct.

The charge against Defoe is thus reduced within very narrow limits. He was in receipt of an official stipend while he asseverated incessantly that his criticisms of public policy were independent and impartial. His reply in his *Appeal to Honour and Justice* is, that his post under Government in no way detracted from his freedom of judgment and utterance, for both of which he expressly covenanted, nor did he ever submit what he wrote to any of his official superiors. On this point the defence may be left in his own hands. Nevertheless, we must allow that he protested somewhat more than was meet.

One of Daniel Defoe's employments under Harley's first administration deserves at least a passing notice. He was despatched to Scotland to promote the union of that country with England. Here, again, there is the customary difficulty concerning the functions he discharged. Mr. Forster considers that the appointment "combined with the duties of Secretary to the English Commissioners considerable influence derived from the ministry at home." One of the greatest obstacles to the Union arose from the different commercial policy and habits of the two nations. Defoe's unrivalled familiarity with questions of trade enabled him to smooth difficulties and to suggest compromises. His *History of the Union* evidences that he was acquainted with the most secret negotiations. He filled a position of responsibility, trust, and dignity, and contributed in no small measure to the arrangement of the treaty from which both countries have derived so much benefit. Meanwhile, his pen was not idle: he endeavoured, and not without some success, to lessen popular prejudice against the Union.

The end of the reign of Queen Anne saw Defoe once more in prison, now as an adherent of the Pretender. A more absurd accusation was never trumped up. He had published several tracts warning the nation against Jacobite intrigues, and beseeching it to hold firmly to the Protestant settlement. Two of them were in his happiest vein of sarcasm: *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover*; and *And what if the Pretender should come?* or *some Considerations of the Advantages and Real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain*. The Jacobite reasons were ridiculed mercilessly; the advantages were shown to be on the side of England's enemies. But a Whig Government was now in power; and the Whigs could not forgive Defoe's assistance of their adversaries, nor his rebukes of themselves. They brought him to trial, relying upon the titles of the pamphlets to justify a foregone conclusion. Nor was their confidence misplaced; a verdict of guilty prepared the way for a severe sentence. The innocent convict was released speedily, owing to the efforts of the Lord Chief Justice, who hastened to remedy this shameless prostitution of a legal process. The freedom, however, was of brief duration; in a few weeks Defoe was summoned to meet a prosecution for libel upon a Government functionary, upon whose trustworthiness he had thrown doubts. Again he is released by the authorities, but with an indelible stain upon his reputation.

Till Mr. Lee taught the world differently, it was universally believed that in 1715 Daniel Defoe retired from journalism, and found abundant scope for even his energies in writing the works upon which his fame at the present day rests. Mr. Lee discovered, by the unimpeachable testimony of Defoe's own handwriting, that, at the solicitation of the Government, he had consented to remain unpurged from the suspicion of Jacobitism and to utilise that pretence in order to obtain control of the Jacobite journals, and to render them politically harmless. It was a hazardous game to play, and the consummate skill with which it was carried on extorts the more admiration the more closely it is scrutinised. Nevertheless it could have but one end, detection and its consequences. Apology for barefaced deceit is impossible, but much may be advanced in mitigation of punishment. The key to Defoe's political career is his dread of the Pope and the Pretender. With this clue

we can solve some of the otherwise inscrutable mysteries that attach to his relations with Harley and Godolphin. Loyalty to Protestantism and the Hanoverian succession atoned in his eyes for a multitude of sins. The rebellions of '15 and '45 witness that Jacobitism was still a formidable foe. He would hold himself fully warranted in meeting trickery with trickery. He would not imagine that in stooping to a mild fraud he transgressed the legitimate boundaries of partisan warfare. And the manner in which he accomplished his task, and the terms on which he undertook it, go far towards extenuating its criminality. He would write nothing himself against his conscience; he undertook merely to suppress or to emasculate treasonable matter. If in spite of his efforts treasonable matter should appear, his intercession was to save the men he deceived from gaol and the gallows. Then he devoted all his powers to render the newspapers he expurgated financially successful. Under his management *Mist's* and *Applebee's Journals* became the precursors of the modern society newspapers; and their proprietors suffered no pecuniary loss.

If Daniel Defoe's life had terminated immediately after his retirement from public politics, he would have been remembered simply as a restless, even turbulent, party writer. Students of English history and lovers of homely, racy English composition might have known something more of him. Utter oblivion could never have overtaken the author of *The True-born Englishman*, but had he not written *Robinson Crusoe*, the rest of his works would have been almost forgotten. "The progress of the suns" has rendered obsolete his treatises on commerce and social science, though they stand monuments of his far-seeing versatility. His moral and religious publications possess now comparatively little interest. Who recollects that Defoe was the author of published sermons, which it is more than possible he had preached in Dissenting meeting-houses? Nevertheless it should still go to his credit that his *New Family Instructor* for many decades accomplished the humble but useful task of training the children of the middle classes in Protestant and Trinitarian, if not exactly Evangelical principles, and his *History of the Devil* and *History of Magic* contain not only uncommonly racy writing but some of the most vigorous popular exposures of the folly of atheism the language possesses. He dares

to treat scepticism and superstition with gibe and sarcasm, which most men think the exclusive portion of the latter.

But other work remains to be mentioned. *Robinson Crusoe* was its author's earliest fiction. The first part was issued April 25, 1719. Four editions were exhausted before August 20, when the second part was printed. Charles Gildon, who endeavoured to cover it with ridicule, bears unwilling testimony to its wonderful popularity: "There is not an old Woman that can go to the Price of it, but buys thy 'Life and Adventures,' and leaves it as a Legacy, with the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' the 'Practice of Piety,' and 'God's Revenge against Murther' to her Posterity." The verdict of Defoe's contemporaries has been confirmed by subsequent generations. It does not detract at all from the merit of *Robinson Crusoe*, as a work of art, that Selkirk actually dwelt alone upon a desert island. The story of Selkirk had been long public property when Defoe availed himself of it. The actions of the real Solitary were as unlike those of the fictitious as is conceivable. It is rather startling, however, to learn that the plan of the favourite tale of our boyhood bears a closer resemblance to the immortal dream of Bunyan than to the narrative of a "marooned" seaman. Yet Defoe issued a third part of *Robinson Crusoe* to explain that it was an allegory of his own life, and to make it the text of a series of not unedifying sermons. To those familiar with Defoe the statement that he began the story as an allegory will be by no means incredible, but though the original design crops out at intervals, it was more often forgotten than remembered.

Other essays in fiction followed: the principal were—in order of time—*Captain Singleton*, *Moll Flanders*, *Colonel Jack*, *Roxana*. His prison experiences furnished him with the groundwork of the last three. The first is the most remarkable illustration of his extensive and accurate knowledge of geography, which appears in so many of his works. *Captain Singleton* actually anticipates some of the most recent discoveries in the Dark Continent. Each of these stories has won from some critic of repute the commendation of superiority as a work of fiction over *Robinson Crusoe*. Yet the fact is unshaken, that for one reader of the latter stories the first can boast its thousands. Probably the cause of the difference in the fate of the stories springs rather from moral tone than from literary skill. *Robinson Crusoe* is pure and healthy,

*Moll Flanders* and *Roxana* are indecent and vile, and *Colonel Jack* is strongly tainted with the foul infection. The age for which Fielding and Smollett are too coarse must turn in loathing from the histories of avowed prostitutes. It is less easy to account for the neglect of *Captain Singleton*, which bristles with well-told adventure and does not offend by indelicacy. But the character of Singleton does not attract. Though a pirate, he is a coward and a hypocrite; disgust with the captain will not permit hearty interest in his career. Part of the vileness of Defoe's tales of immorality and crime belongs to the period he lived in, part is inseparable from their subject. If we inquire how it came to pass that a man who believed it his mission to inculcate morality, through whose works run religious conviction and reverence for sacred things, and to whom God and a future state were firm articles of faith, could have chosen such subjects for his pen, the answer may be that he imagined that by depicting the misery of even prosperous wrong-doing he could deter men and women from embarking in it. There is reason, however, to fear that the deterrent purpose was an after-thought, and that thereby a salve was applied to a conscience wounded by an unrighteous pecuniary speculation.

From the novel proper Defoe's tales are differentiated by their complete innocence of plot and of intentional grouping of character. But there is another distinction of which the first may be the consequence. Defoe's stories are *stories*, in the bad sense of the term. The idea of the novel was not sufficiently familiar to the English mind to admit of an avowed fiction. The profession of truthfulness was an absolute necessity, if the tales were to be read. Defoe adopted the needful disguise without much thought about the morality of the action: he knew that sooner or later the veil would be lifted. The peculiar air of truth which characterises his stories was quite as much the outcome of necessity as of taste. Yet genius of no mean rank was required to produce that faithfulness in detail and consistent naturalness which caused the *Journal of the Plague-Year* to be regarded as genuine history by doctors of medicine and literary critics alike, which still holds it in doubt whether the *Memoirs of a Cavalier* are of Defoe's composition, or merely of his editing, and puzzles the reader to decide whether or no the letters in his account of *The Great Storm* really proceeded from the men whose signatures they

bear. Mr. Leslie Stephen, in his delightful *Hours in a Library*, rates this talent of accurate imitation, of truth-like invention, at a very low level. But how happens it, then, that Defoe has found copyists often, but a rival never?

Affluence and honour crowned the closing years of the chequered life, until his deceit towards the Jacobites was detected. Then his person was attacked, and he fled from real or fancied plots against his life. Domestic troubles added their share to the misery of his last days. His busy brain seems to have given way under the pressure. He died in concealment though not in want, April 26, 1731. Mr. Lee concludes his volume with extracts from Defoe's later writings to show his fitness for death. Assuredly he was no stranger to Christian resignation, repentance, and trust. Mr. Forster declares: "Defoe is our only famous politician and man of letters who represented, in its inflexible constancy, sturdy, dogged resolution, unwearied patience, and obstinate contempt of danger and of tyranny, the great middle-class English character." Mr. Minto asserts: "He was a great, a truly great liar,\* perhaps the greatest liar that ever lived. . . . His dishonesty went too deep to be called superficial, yet, if we go deeper still in his rich and strangely mixed nature we come upon stubborn foundations of conscience." It is strange that the discovery of the foundations of conscience was not made till nearly the final page of the book. Afterwards Mr. Minto acknowledges the greatness and value of his devotion "to the cause of civil and religious freedom." This is but tardy recognition. A truer estimate of the man acknowledges that his whole life was governed by strong principle. Not that he was free from moments of weakness and blindness, nor that his faith in himself did not lead him into error; but that he never completely lost his hold of truth and right, clinging to them with a tenacity which, though imperfect in itself, was rare in the common corruption of his times.

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\* Mr. Minto borrows this epithet, though without acknowledgment, from Mr. Leslie Stephen, who deprives it of most of its moral significance before he employs it.



ART. IV.—*The Formation of Vegetable Mould through the Action of Worms, with Observations on their Habits.*  
By CHARLES DARWIN, LL.D., F.R.S. With Illustrations. Fourth Thousand. Murray. 1881.

WHATEVER may be thought of Mr. Darwin's theories, and of the opinions with which he has been more or less unfairly credited, no one can deny that of all our scientists he is the most painstaking. Feeling that the views which he takes of the order and progress of nature can only be based on a multitude of very minute facts, he set himself from the beginning to observe and record such facts. And in painstaking industry and minuteness of observation he has seldom been equalled, even by the most laborious Germans. We may accept or reject the doctrine of natural selection; but the book in which it is broached and supported by a patient investigation of the variations in pigeons and other tame creatures, is a monument of unsurpassed industry. It is one thing to assert that because all tame pigeons are undoubtedly descended from the wild blue-rock, although the structural differences between some of them are greater than those between many so-called species, therefore there is no such thing as species. It is quite another thing to appreciate the patience with which fact after fact is noted, seized on, and put into its place in the great array of evidence whereby Mr. Darwin has shown how wide is the range of variation, and how dependent it is on modifying conditions.

The charge against Mr. Darwin, strenuously repudiated by some who claim to be his faithfulest interpreters, is that in formulating the "survival of the fittest," and the "selection of species," he not only puts aside the Mosaic account of the creation, dispensing altogether with a Creator in our ordinary sense of the word, but that his doctrine makes design superfluous, seeing that the existing races of animals are therein supposed to be the outcome of a struggle against circumstance. Of course Mr. Darwin's defenders reply that, though he says nothing about conscious design, such design may well be supposed to lie at the bottom of the selection, to shape the modifying circumstances, to

impress on each monad its selective tendency, its power of development. Such apologists add that a doctrine of this kind enhances the glory of the Creator, and gives us a grander idea of His work and His foresight than does the usual anthropomorphic interpretation of the Biblical record. But into questions of this kind we have no intention of entering; we will not pause to inquire how such views can be held by men who set up as sticklers for orthodoxy; we will not inquire how it is that there seems a sort of alliance between ritualist tendencies and the theory of development. Our present business is with Mr. Darwin's latest work, in which the most superficial reader cannot fail to notice a somewhat different tone from that which has been assumed to pervade his other books. The difference is just this: on the "survival of the fittest" theory there is no need for anticipatory purpose, and therefore Mr. Darwin was silent about it; but the earthworm's work, distinctly not for his own advantage, but for the good of other creatures, and, in the final issue, of man, evidently suggests far-reaching design. Here is a creature which for ages before man appeared on the earth has been forming vegetable mould, largely modifying the distribution of soil on the earth's surface, and doing this in a way which, as far as itself is concerned, is most wasteful. Every worm passes through its gizzard (for earthworms are furnished with such an appendage, though mud and water worms have them not) some twenty ounces of earth every year, an enormous quantity for such a minute creature to triturate; and out of this mass it gets not the largest possible amount of nutriment, as it ought to do on the "survival" principle, but a relatively trifling amount compared with what it might get were it to feed at or near the surface. The worm, then, from its own standpoint, is working most wastefully; what it does is economic work only in reference to the higher organisations whose needs it subserves. By very hard work for very little pay (so to speak) it has been for ages enriching the surface-soil, preparing it in a most remarkable manner for the growth of food-plants; working out, in fact, part of the great plan, known to and prearranged from the beginning by the great Creator. This seems to wholly cut off Darwinism from those theories which would make our *cosmos* the result of blind forces working without any guiding or informing mind. In fact, since the book before us has been published, some writers (notably one in

the *Spectator* of October 22nd) have sounded a note of triumph, as if Mr. Darwin was henceforth to be classed with the authors of the Bridgewater Treatises. Without going so far as this, we may well rejoice that he has in his own careful and exhaustive manner brought before us such an instance of adaptation as makes blind "selection" an impossibility, and forces us back on the old notion of One who has planned all things, and according to whose plan they are still working.

The book will also do good service in exposing the folly of that very superficial view which supposes that by evolution it is meant that all species are always in a state of change, every one working up to something, or sinking down to some lower grade if it proves unequal to the struggle. The true meaning of Darwinism is widely different from this: on that theory the struggle and change go on until a species has either disappeared or has established itself in surroundings suitable to its organisation: in this latter case it may go on unchanged for æons.\* The earthworm, for instance, has got into the very place which suits it. It feeds underground, where eyes are useless, therefore it has no eyes; and hence the relatively vast amount of matter which passes through it compared with the nourishment extracted therefrom. It does not develop into anything else, nor has it changed at all since the oldest geological stratum in which it is found. Its labour supports itself; but it does much more; it helps in an altogether unexpected way to support man; and this fact is surely altogether irreconcilable with the theory of blind forces working without purpose or design.

But we must let Mr. Darwin speak for himself: "The share which worms have taken in the formation of the layer of vegetable mould which covers the land in every moderately humid country is the subject of the present volume." And he at once begins by deprecating the objection that the subject is an insignificant one. *De minimis lex non curat* is certainly not true of science; and Mr. Darwin's whole teaching gives proof of the great importance of "small agencies and their accumulated effects." Other writers have noticed the value to the geologist of this thin layer of finely-triturated vegetable mould; but most of

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\* See, however, an article entitled "Degeneration," which appeared in this Journal in July, 1881.

them, like Elie de Beaumont, have insisted on its permanence. Mr. Darwin shows that, on the contrary, its most striking feature is its being continually renewed: "its component particles in most cases removed at not a very slow rate, and replaced by others due to the disintegration of the underlying materials," the agents in this work being worms, through whose stomachs the particles are passed; so that, instead of being called vegetable it rather deserves to be styled animal mould.

Mr. Darwin's views, as is always the case, are the result of long and minute observation. He first attacked the subject in 1837, in a short paper "On the Formation of Mould," read before the Geological Society of London. His attention, he tells us, was first called to the subject by Mr. Wedgwood, of Maer Hall, in Staffordshire, who pointed out to him that the apparent sinking of burnt marl, cinders, &c., strewn over a meadow, is due to the large quantity of fine earth continually brought up to the surface by worms in the form of castings. These castings are sooner or later spread out, and cover up any object left on the surface.

This "singular theory" was commented on by foreign geologists; one of whom, M. d'Archiac, says it may be true of damp, low-lying meadows, but not of woods, upland pastures, and ploughed land. This objector (Mr. Darwin replies) must be arguing from inner consciousness, for it is just on elevated commons (M. d'Archiac's upland pastures) that, in England at least, worm-castings are most abundant; while in gardens, where the soil is worked much more than in ploughed fields, Von Hensen, the great authority as to the habits of worms, estimates their number as about twice as many as in corn-fields. There is only an apparent contradiction here—the worms seem most active on the commons, because all their castings are visible; in the loose soil of gardens they get lost amid cavities, or are deposited within their burrows. Other objections to the theory were *à priori*; Mr. Fish, for instance, in the *Gardener's Chronicle*, remarked, "Considering their weakness and their size, the work they are represented to have accomplished is stupendous,"—a remark which Mr. Darwin calls "an instance of that inability to sum up the effects of a continually recurring cause which has often retarded the progress of science."

But Mr. Darwin was not likely to rest satisfied with a few observations, partly made by others. He has, for

nearly fifty years, been watching and experimenting. In 1842 an old pasture-field was covered with a layer of broken chalk; in 1871, on a trench being dug, the chalk was seen as a distinct layer seven inches below the surface. A layer of coal-ashes, laid down at the same time, was found at the end of the twenty-nine years in two parallel layers, one seven, the other five and a half inches below the surface. A still more striking case was that of a field ploughed in 1841, and then harrowed and left to become pasture. It was so thickly covered with small and large flints (some half as large as a child's hand) as to be always called "the stony field." When Mr. Darwin's sons ran down it the stones clattered together. Mr. Darwin used to doubt whether he should live to see the larger flints covered with vegetable mould and turf. But after thirty years all the stones had so completely disappeared that a horse could gallop from end to end without striking a single stone with his shoes. "To any one who remembered the appearance of the field in 1842, the transformation was wonderful, and this was certainly the work of the worms. . . . The average rate of accumulation of the mould was only an inch in twelve years; but the rate must have been much slower at first, and afterwards considerably quicker." Sometimes the work is much more quickly done, the rate probably depending on the suitableness of the soil for worms to multiply in. Thus a case is quoted from *Nature* (November, 1877), where a layer of coal-ashes was buried to a depth of seven inches in eighteen years.

Everything, in fact, "works downwards" (as the farmers say), not by its own weight, but by the labour of multitudes of minute ploughmen. In this way, not only is an ever fresh supply of nourishment provided for the surface plants, but remains which would have been lost or destroyed have been preserved for the enlightenment of an age capable of appreciating them.

Of this we shall see many instances by-and-by; but we must first, following Mr. Darwin, learn something of the nature and habits of the creatures to whom such a great work in the economy of nature is attributed. Worms, then, are found everywhere, from Iceland to Kerguelen Land, though their activity is stopped by frost, and by dry heat. They exist in most kinds of soil, even in the black peat of bogs, though in it they are rare, and are wholly absent from the drier brown fibrous peat which is so valued by

gardeners. They are found on the tops of mountains, except where the subjacent rocks are so near the surface that they cannot burrow deep enough in winter to escape being frozen. They are still semi-aquatic (Mr. Darwin seems to think they are developed from a wholly aquatic ancestor); for though the dry air of a room is fatal to them in a single night, they have been kept alive for four months completely submerged in water. This is M. Perrier's experience, but no doubt Mr. Darwin has taken care to verify it abundantly; else it would seem to be contradicted by the fact, which must have struck most people, of the great number of dead worms almost always to be seen on the surface after heavy rain succeeding dry weather. These Mr. Darwin thinks were already sick; for the worm suffers from divers maladies, notably from the attacks of a parasitic fly, with which most of those that are found roaming about by daytime are affected. To move by day is contrary to the worm's habits; and the division between rest and activity has become so much a matter of habit that worms kept in pots in total darkness still went on working during the night, and resting by day.

Not that they are wholly insensible to light. Despite their blindness, a strong sudden light sends them back at once into their holes. Moderately radiant heat, diffused from "a poker heated to dull redness," does not produce so much effect as a bright light. The latter, of course, must act on the cerebral ganglia (for worms are furnished with such an apparatus) through the skin, the degree of extension and consequent transparency of which determines apparently the action of the light. When busily at work, worms are far less sensitive to light than at other times.

Each of the rings of which their bodies are made up is furnished with minute slightly reflexed bristles; by these they hold so fast to the inside of their burrows that they can seldom be dragged out without being torn in pieces. Between the crop and the intestines they have a gizzard, in which grains of sand and small stones from one-twentieth to one-tenth of an inch across are generally to be found. These serve like mill-stones to triturate their food. They can swallow without injury pointed bits of glass, and Mr. Darwin thinks that when wounded they feel far less pain than their contortions would lead us to imagine. Of hearing they have no organs of sense whatever. A bassoon at



its loudest affects them not at all, nor a whistle, nor a shout if care is taken that the breath does not strike them. For to vibrations they are very sensitive. Place a pot containing worms on a piano, and they at once retreat to their burrows the moment a note is struck. Their sense of smell seems developed with strange irregularity. To tobacco-juice, paraffin, and millefleurs Mr. Darwin found them insensible. But buried bits of onion and cabbage and of fresh raw meat were discovered, though in some cases very slowly. One bit of onion, for instance, was only found after three nights. With Mr. Darwin's usual care, *some of the buried objects were laid on tin foil* so as to ascertain whether in any case they had been accidentally come upon by worms burrowing up from below.

It is strange to find worms so dainty that they can distinguish between different kinds of cabbage, preferring the green to the red, and so discriminating that they show a marked preference for that brain-feeding vegetable celery. The digestive value of prussic acid seems also to be appreciated, for "on many trials wild-cherry leaves were greatly preferred to those of lime or hazel." Their digestive fluid is said to be akin to the pancreatic secretion of the higher animals, and is used on the leaves which form so large a part of their food before they begin to eat them. This extra-stomachical digestion Mr. Darwin considers unique. The nearest analogy to it is found in the sun-dew (*drosera*) and other carnivorous plants, which convert animal matter into pepsine not in a stomach but on the surface of the leaves. Acidity, the natural result of eating quantities of half-decayed leaves, is combated by the calciferous glands which produce an alkaline reaction.

As a worm has a digestion, we shall not be astonished to find it gifted with mental powers. Laura Bridgman, though in her many of the ordinary avenues of intelligence were closed, was not unintelligent; why then should worms be, albeit deficient in several sense-organs? They have instincts, which are shown in the way they line their burrows with fine earth and sometimes with little stones, and plug the mouths of them with leaves; very young worms are found acting thus. But they have much more; and the chapter that Mr. Darwin devotes to establishing this point is perhaps the most interesting in the book. It is chiefly in the plugging of their burrows, he says, that

this intelligence is shown. A leaf may be either dragged in by the point or the foot-stalk or the middle; and the most careful experiments were conducted in order to ascertain which was the usual mode employed by worms, for, of course, if a man had to fill a small cylindrical hole he would drag or push in the leaves by their pointed ends, unless they were very thin relatively to the size of the hole, in which case he would probably insert some by their thicker or broader ends. Worms in this matter show themselves almost as sagacious as men. Leaves of rhododendrons and other foreign trees were tried, about which their ancestors knew nothing, and therefore instinct (*i.e.*, "an unvarying inherited impulse") could not help them; yet the percentage of those drawn in by the tip was vastly the greatest. This was not, however, invariably the case, as it would have been had the creatures worked solely through instinct. The numbers were in one case eighty per cent. by the tip, nine by the base, eleven by the middle; in another sixty-three per cent. by the tip, twenty-seven by the base, ten by the middle (in this case the leaf was laburnum, specially narrow at the base). Some rhododendrons are smallest towards the base; and of these sixty-six per cent. had been drawn in by the base, and only twenty-four by the tip. In fact the worms were found to judge with a considerable degree of correctness which was the readiest mode of procedure. The leaves of pines consist of two needles united at a common base; these were almost always drawn in by the base, not, however, because the two divergent needles were hard to manage, for when these were waxed together, or bound together with thread, the worms almost uniformly went on pulling by the bases as before. Pine leaves are not natives of the south of England, therefore the habit of burying them could not be an inherited one; neither was it confined to worms brought up under their shadow, for such leaves were laid on the ground in places where pine trees had never grown. The base of a pine leaf seems therefore to afford something attractive to worms in the way of nutriment, since these leaves are so much more frequently drawn in by the foot-stalk than others. With the foot-stalks of compound leaves, like the ash or the robinia, both methods obtain. The number of those drawn in by the tip, after the leaflets had fallen off, was very much larger than of those drawn in by the base, except in the case of

the ash, of which the worms are very fond, and which they clearly draw in by the thick end for use as food. To decide between this somewhat conflicting evidence Mr. Darwin was at the pains to cut triangles out of moderately stiff writing paper, with sides three inches long and bases an inch long in 120 cases, and half an inch in 183 cases. These were rubbed with raw fat on both sides to prevent dew and rain from making them excessively limp; and similar triangles, damped, were drawn in all sorts of different ways into a tube of the width of a worm-burrow. "Now if," argues Mr. Darwin, "worms seized indifferently by chance any part, they would assuredly seize on the basal part far oftener than on either of the two other divisions; for the area of the basal to the apical part is five to one, if the triangle be divided into three parts by lines an inch asunder parallel to the base." On the contrary it was found that, of 303 triangles experimented on, sixty-two per cent. were seized by or near the apex, fifteen by the middle, twenty-three by the basal part. "We may conclude, therefore, that the manner in which the triangles are drawn into the burrows is not a matter of chance."

It was clear, moreover, that the worms had not selected the apex as most convenient after having tried other ways and failed, *for the bases of the triangles drawn in by the apex were clean and not crumpled*: "we may therefore infer, improbable as is the inference, that worms are able by some means to judge which is the best end by which to draw paper triangles into their burrows." A still higher percentage than that of the triangles was reached in the case of lime-tree leaves (very broad at the base), of which seventy-nine per cent. were dragged in by the apex and only four by the base. Chance, then, is excluded; and inherited habit, which so often simulates intelligence, could not have been acquired in reference to objects, like paper triangles or foreign plants, wholly unknown to the progenitors of the worms experimented upon; and it does not appear (from the cleanness of the bases of the triangles) that the worms often try first in one way and then in another, though, if they did, they would be profiting by experience in a way in which many higher animals are wholly unable to profit by it. The conclusion therefore remains that they are able *to acquire some notion* of the general shape of an object, probably by touch, as

those who are born blind and deaf do. "And if worms have this power, even in a slight degree, they deserve to be called intelligent; for they then act in nearly the "same manner as a man would under similar circumstances." If this, adds our author, seems an unlikely supposition, we must remember how little we know of the nervous system of the lower animals, and what a mass of inherited knowledge, with some power of adapting means to ends, is crowded into the minute brain of a worker-ant, and yet an ant is often seen trying to drag an object transversely which could more easily be drawn longitudinally.

It was necessary to glorify the creature to which is assigned such an important part in the preparation of the soil. The worm has an amount of intelligence that may well put to shame the weaver-bird which keeps on winding threads through the bars of its cage as if building a nest, and the beaver which cuts up logs and drags them about even where there is no water to dam up, and many other creatures, far higher in the scale than itself, which yet follow instinct in a blind and purposeless way. The worm has a purpose in what it does.

That earth is swallowed for food, and not merely in making the burrows, is next proved. Mr. Darwin has even watched the worms at work making their casts; and he speaks of "tower-like castings, some three inches high," photographed by Dr. King, at Nice, and others, still higher, from Bengal and the Neilgherries; and then comes the most important item in the many calculations so carefully and minutely made, viz., the amount of earth brought by worms to the surface, and afterwards spread out by rain and wind. This was judged of by two methods: by the rate at which surface objects are buried, and by weighing the quantity brought up in a given time. We have already spoken of the first method, which has been pursued both near Maer Hall, and also near Mr. Darwin's house in Kent. Cases are given of great stones undermined by worms, and in this way half buried; while if they are of such huge dimensions that the earth beneath is kept dry, and therefore not inhabited by worms, they do not sink at all. In this way the fallen stones at Stonehenge have been buried to a depth of about nine and a half inches; but since it is uncertain when they fell, no calculation can in this case be made of the rate of growth of the vegetable mould. The rate of sinking does not appear to depend on

the weight of the objects, porous cinders are covered as deep as ponderous flints.

The weight of earth brought up by worms will of course depend on the number of worms in a given area. These are far more numerous than we should fancy. Von Hensen calculates, we are not told on what data, nearly 54,000 in an acre of *garden* ground. Pour vinegar, or water in which walnut shells have been steeped, on a patch of ground, and you will be astonished at the multitude of worms that come up to die. As to the castings, they are far the heaviest on very poor English pasture, the next heaviest being those on the Neilgherries. Their amount varies from eighteen tons to fourteen and a half tons per acre in low-lying fields in the chalk, to from sixteen to seven tons in chalk hills.

The part which worms have played in burying old buildings is set forth in the case of the Roman villas at Abinger and Brading. Here not only are the beautifully tessellated pavements covered to a depth of several inches, but the very walls of houses, &c., have in many cases been undermined. Sometimes the tessellated pavement has sunk in the centre, the edges having been kept up by adhering to the walls. It is strange to think of worms making their way through the concrete underlying Roman pavements, and then passing up between the tesserae; but this is undoubtedly the fact, as is proved by observations made at Abinger during the three autumn months of 1877 on the floor of the atrium, which has subsided, while still keeping pretty level, owing to the collapsing of the worm-burrows in the soil beneath it. The depth of the overlying mould in this villa was in some places sixteen inches, which had been deposited in the course of some fourteen or fifteen hundred years. In Beaulieu Abbey, the tessellated pavement discovered in 1853 lay at depths varying from six and three-quarters to eleven and a half inches below the turf. This abbey was wholly destroyed by Henry VIII., so that the time the worms have been at work can be pretty accurately fixed. Of course, the rate of deposit in such cases is much slower than that on ordinary land; and it seems as if Mr. Darwin ought to explain why such floorings are not always left as hollows in the surface (as they are in many cases), seeing that the soil outside them is much more rapidly raised than that which has to be brought up from below them. The villa at Brading, discovered last

October, is on a very grand scale, no less than eighteen rooms having been opened. Here the mould and rubbish was from three to four feet thick in the rooms, the thickness on the broken walls varying from four to eighteen inches. At Chadworth, in Gloucestershire, the depth of mould over a very fine tessellated pavement was twenty-six inches. Of the work at Silchester, Hants, undertaken by Rev. J. G. Joyce for the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Darwin gives a very long account. Here the depth of mould varied with the slope of the ground from twenty-nine to eleven and a half inches. At Wroxeter the mould in some parts reached a thickness of forty inches.

On the whole, then, worms have played a large part in covering up and concealing ancient buildings; they have played a much more important part in that denudation that has gradually changed the crystalline rocks of which the earth was originally composed into existing strata. The help worms give in this work is mainly by preventing such an accumulation of mould as would hinder any change from taking place in the underlying rocks. The mould triturated and brought to the surface by the worms is washed down by rains, and so the underlying rock becomes subject to atmospheric changes, and to the action of humus-acids. And these humus-acids, which are so powerful in disintegrating rocks, are generated within the bodies of worms during the digestive process. But, besides this indirect chemical work, Mr. Darwin is persuaded that they act directly and mechanically on the smaller particles of rock. We can well believe this when we learn that some genera have two gizzards, and one genus (*moniligaster*) has five. And their numbers are such that in Great Britain, reckoning only the land which is cultivated and fitted for their working, viz., thirty-two million acres, the amount of soil that passes yearly through their bodies is 320 million tons. It is startling to think how much this must have been in a single geological period, of many thousand years. And of this prepared mould a surprising weight is constantly being washed down from hill-sides. For every 100 yards of a valley with sides sloping at an angle of  $9^{\circ}26'$ , 480 cubic inches of damp earth weighing above 23 lbs. will annually reach the bottom. The ledges, so constantly found on the hill-sides and the sides of chalk downs, and usually supposed to be sheep-runs, Mr. Darwin believes to be due in some cases to the accumulation of disinte-



grated and rolled worm-castings arrested in their descent by some irregularity in the surface. Sir J. Hooker noticed them in the Himalayas and the Atlas, where there are no domestic animals and few wild ones; and Dr. King saw them in the act of formation in the Corniche. Worm-castings, too, when dry, are carried in considerable quantities in the shape of dust. This displacement produces a sensible effect in some countries. In England Mr. Darwin thinks it is not dry, but moist, recently-ejected castings which are as a rule displaced, being driven in a north-easterly direction by the strong, rainy, south-westerly gales. His son Horace probed the shallow circular trenches near Stonehenge, said to be contemporaneous with the Druidical stones, and found that on the whole the mould due to the action of worms was much thicker on the north-east than on the other parts of the circles. As an instance of the careful tenacity with which even the minutest question is investigated, we may take the following:

"Several old castings on my lawn were marked with pins, and protected from any disturbance. They were examined after an interval of ten weeks, during which the weather had been alternately dry and rainy. Some which were of a yellowish colour had been washed away almost completely, as could be seen by the colour of the surrounding ground. Others had completely disappeared, and these no doubt had been blown away. Lastly, others still remained, and would long remain, as blades of grass had grown through them."

And again:

"Eight castings were found on my lawn, where the grass-blades are fine and close together, and three others on a field with coarse grass. The inclination of the surface at the eleven places where these castings were collected varied between  $4^{\circ} 30'$  and  $17^{\circ} 30'$ ; the mean of the eleven inclinations being  $9^{\circ} 26'$ . The length of the castings in the direction of the slope was first measured with as much accuracy as their irregularities would permit. It was found possible to make these measurements within about one-eighth of an inch, but one of the castings was too irregular to admit of measurement. The average length in the direction of the slope of the remaining ten castings was 2.03 inches. The castings were then divided with a knife into two parts along a horizontal line passing through the mouth of the burrows, which was discovered by slicing off the turf; and all the ejected earth was separately collected, namely, the part above the hole and the part below. Afterwards these two parts were weighed. In every

case there was much more earth below than above; the mean weight of that above being 103 grains, and of that below 205 grains; so that the latter was very nearly double the former. As on level ground castings are commonly thrown up almost equally round the mouths of the burrows, this difference in weight indicates the amount of ejected earth which had flowed down the slope. But very many more observations would be requisite to arrive at any general results; for the nature of the vegetation and other accidental circumstances, such as the heaviness of the rain, the direction and force of the wind, &c., appear to be more important in determining the quantity of the earth which flows down a slope than its angle. Thus with four castings on my lawn (included in the above eleven) where the mean slope was  $7^{\circ} 19'$ , the difference in the amount of earth above and below the burrows was greater than with three other castings on the same lawn where the mean slope was  $12^{\circ} 5'$ ."

In another instance Mr. Darwin covers some of the worm-casts on his lawn with powdered chalk, so as to judge of the denuding effect of rains. Indeed the two chapters on denudation are throughout a wonderful instance of patient research and close reasoning. At times we feel disposed to sit in the seat of the scornful, and to liken all this weighing of worm-earths, this measuring their angles and heights, to the way in which, according to Aristophanes in the *Clouds*, Socrates and his pupils used to study physics. To take in wax the print of a flea's foot and so to ascertain how many of its own paces it takes when it makes a leap is not, at first sight, very different from Mr. Darwin's methods with worms. The difference is, that the one belongs to the fruitful, the other to the barren class of experiments, according to the Baconian division. Mr. Darwin traces a continuous connection between the facts which he adduces and the theory which he bases on them; and, if the basis sometimes seems small to support such a superstructure, we must not forget his reminder of the composite effect of a very minute cause indefinitely multiplied.

One thing strikes us, and not for the first time—the way in which Mr. Darwin is helped by his sons. One or other of the three is mentioned in almost every other page as a careful fellow-worker whose observations are to the full as trustworthy as his father's. It is no slight thing to have impressed his own household with the importance of a kind of work which, to so many young people, would seem like solemn trifling. It is not often that heredity shows

itself so strongly as in the Darwin family. Dr. Darwin, a close observer for the times when he lived, was so far on the road to evolution that carping critics have accused our author of plagiarism, for not having more distinctly acknowledged his obligation to his relative. The elder Darwin, indeed, was less blessed with help in his own family; his eldest son, we remember, fell a victim to an insanity from which the collateral branches are wholly free; but his geniality was shown by the remarkable way in which he attached to himself a circle of friends; and the way in which the experiments recorded in this volume have been made quite a family work, shows that the geniality is hereditary.

This tone of geniality makes us all the more regret that, while assigning to worms a certain amount of intelligence, and a wholly unsuspected share in the economy of nature, Mr. Darwin has not been able to speak out, and to tell his readers that, if common sense is to be of any value in the argument, an intelligent worm filling no insignificant place in the work of fitting the world for man is a wholly incomprehensible phenomenon, apart from an intelligent plan designed by an intelligent Creator. We wish he had said something of this kind in his concluding chapter.

In that chapter, he gives us the experiment of Von Hensen, showing the rapidity with which worms manufacture the black vegetable mould which is so largely their work. Two worms were placed in a vessel, eighteen inches wide, filled with sand. On this fallen leaves were strewn, and were soon dragged in to a depth of three inches.\* After about six weeks an almost uniform layer of sand, nearly half an inch thick, had been turned into *humus* by having passed through the stomachs of the two worms, and having been there mingled with the refuse of the leaves. The worm does his work of commingling and pulverising far better than a gardener preparing a compost. Soil thus prepared is well fitted to retain moisture, and to absorb all soluble substances, and ladies may well find consolation for the occasional mischief done by worms to flower roots in the thought that the good they do in enriching and preparing the soil far outweighs any such harm.

In this way, then, adding fact to fact, and modifying his

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\* The rate of work is remarkable; for Mr. Darwin notes that worms in captivity are often idle, and work carelessly, owing perhaps to the dryness of the air in which they are placed.

views as new facts arise, Mr. Darwin arrives at the conclusion that worms at any rate are not useless creatures. Rather, they give one of the strongest proofs of the truth of that good old saying, There is no waste in nature; they show, too, that nature never puts forth unnecessary strength, but rather rejoices to work mighty results through seemingly insignificant causes. If the *Descent of Man* was something like a dethroning of humanity from its immemorial seat, surely this is lifting these humble and often despised creatures to an undreamt-of importance. This is how Mr. Darwin sums up the case :

“Worms have played a more important part in the history of the world than most persons would at first suppose. In almost all humid countries they are extraordinarily numerous, and for their size possess great muscular power. In many parts of England a weight of more than ten tons (10,516 kilogrammes) of dry earth annually passes through their bodies, and is brought to the surface, on each acre of land ; so that the whole superficial bed of vegetable mould passes through their bodies in the course of every few years. From the collapsing of the old burrows the mould is in constant though slow movement, and the particles composing it are thus rubbed together. By these means fresh surfaces are continually exposed to the action of the carbonic acid in the soil, and of the humus-acids which appear to be still more efficient in the decomposition of rocks. The generation of the humus-acid is probably hastened during the digestion of the many half-decayed leaves which worms consume. Thus the particles of earth forming the superficial mould are subjected to conditions eminently favourable for their decomposition and disintegration. Moreover, the particles of the softer rocks suffer some amount of mechanical trituration in the muscular gizzards of worms, in which small stones serve as mill-stones. . . . When we behold a wide, turf-covered expanse, we should remember that its smoothness, on which so much of its beauty depends, is mainly due to all the inequalities having been slowly levelled by worms. It is a marvellous reflection that the whole of the superficial mould over any such expanse has passed, and will again pass, every few years through the bodies of worms. The plough is one of the most ancient and most valuable of man's inventions ; but long before he existed the land was, in fact, regularly ploughed, and still continues to be thus ploughed by earthworms. It may be doubted whether there are many other animals which have played so important a part in the history of the world, as have these lowly-organised creatures.”

Certainly their habits have never been so long and so

closely watched before, and Mr. Darwin has the credit of discovering many new facts in worm-life; that they can even eat concrete and bore through tessellated pavements was known before, but we are not aware that any one had pointed out the way in which they line their burrows, not only with humus but also in the upper part with leaves, filling up the interstices with small stones, beads, and such other things as have been scattered near. And in this, as in all other cases, the more we get to close quarters with nature the more we are astonished at the unvarying adaptation of means to ends. Verily, as we said, Mr. Darwin deserves a share of the credit bestowed on the Duke of Bridgewater's treatise-writers, in spite of his having declined to push his inferences to their just conclusions.

Worms, he shows, have chiefly formed that surface soil on which the fertility of our globe depends. They are continually renewing it, and (helped by rain and wind) equalising its distribution. And they do this at a great sacrifice to themselves. For earth is not their favourite food,\* but celery, onion, cabbage, and, above all, raw fat meat. The dunghheap suits them much better than the chalk down. Why should they not, on the principle that each creature chooses for itself its most suitable surroundings, have sought the former and disappeared from the latter? It would almost seem as if a worm, living in hungry land of which it has to pass a vast quantity through its intestines, in order to extract a very small amount of nourishment, in contradiction to the laureate's dictum, that no creature "but subserves another's end," is clearly not doing the best for itself, but doing its share towards carrying on the designs of Providence.

We cannot believe but that its author meant something of this kind by the passage just quoted, and the book before us is therefore not only of great interest in itself, as everything that Mr. Darwin writes must be, but also because it seems to be conceived in a somewhat different spirit from those earlier works on which atheists as well as agnostics seized as if of right.

Mr. Darwin says nothing of conscious design; but he puts wholly in the background all that machinery of happy accidents which hasty readers persisted in identifying with

\* Average English earth contains less than 2 per cent. of organic matter; the black earth of South Russia has 12 per cent.

the old "fortuitous concourse of atoms." There is nothing in this volume like the explanation, which some of our readers will remember, how it comes to pass that the European cuckoo lays its eggs in another bird's nest while the cuckoo of America builds a nest of its own. It is the result, we are told, of an accident. Suppose the cuckoo happened to lay its eggs in another nest; well, if some benefit accrued therefrom either to the parent bird or to its young—if the cuckoo-chick thrived better owing to the unconscious care of its adopted mother, it is easy to see how an accident may have become a *habit advantageous to the species*; for all analogy leads us to believe that the bird thus reared would partly at least inherit the deviation of instinct which led its mother to abandon it. The strongest cuckoos being those that were reared in other birds' nests, the race of cuckoos would become more and more given to this abnormal kind of egg-laying. This very startling way of building on assumptions is thoroughly disposed of by M. Paul Janet in a remarkable paper on "The Materialism of the Day" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1st Dec., 1863, who cites the case of the *pompilia*—insects which lay their eggs in dead animals, that their larvæ may find suitable nourishment ready to hand. The difficulty here is that while the larvæ are carnivorous, the insects themselves feed on vegetables; and M. Janet insists that it is a difficulty which natural selection cannot pretend to solve, for it is not a case of thriving better on one kind of food than on another. It is a trial of faith to imagine that larvæ, originally herbivorous, came all at once to be carnivorous through the accident of their eggs having been laid in or near a dead body, and that, thriving on this wholly new food, they transmitted this new habit, which had proved to be advantageous, through the larva state to the complete insect. Such cases as these we see at once are based on gratuitous assumptions—demand vastly more faith than is claimed by those who would have us believe in the literal rendering of every word in Gen. i. We are glad that, as we said, this book is free from them.

As for the general argument from design, we are not among those who think that Paley is out of date. It has been the custom for more than a generation to sneer at his once-famous passage about the man who found a watch on an uninhabited island, and thence concluded that some human being must have been there before him; and to say,



that is all very well in the case of watches, for we know all about the making of them, and to connect a watch with a watchmaker is the result of experience; whereas we know nothing of how worlds are made, and whether in their case a maker is absolutely indispensable. In his former works, notably in the *Origin of Species*, Mr. Darwin's reticence allowed unbelievers to rush eagerly upon his facts, and to cry out that "natural selection" was the working of blind, aimless chance, forgetting the radical difference between artificial selection and the working of such a blind power. Man, as has so often been pointed out, obtains certain results by working with a special object, i.e., with design: he chooses and combines with a view to the desired end. When we study the similar selective work of nature, surely it is gratuitously illogical to insist that this must be the work of chance. One thing cannot be too often borne in mind: the more complicated our arrangement is, the more numerous the elements that enter into it, the more unlikely it becomes that it can be the result of chance. You throw three dominoes, and it is not impossible that they should in falling range themselves in the form of an equilateral triangle; but, if you throw a hundred, the chances against their forming any regular geometrical figure are almost innumerable.

An evolutionist theist, an evolutionist pantheist, are readily conceivable; though the distinction between the two is futile, for nature becomes God to one who believes that all matter is instinct with a self-regulating power; but an evolutionist atheist passes our understanding. We can fancy Mr. Darwin smiling sorrowfully at the use many have made of his facts and his theories. We can almost imagine his having put forth the present book as evidence of how much he has been misunderstood. However this may be, we are confident that it will do good. Sure to be largely read, clear even beyond its author's usual clearness, with scarcely a scientific word from beginning to end, and containing in our opinion the clearest evidences of design, it is well fitted to counteract the theories which have (wrongly but persistently) been coupled with the name of Darwin.

People are only now beginning to understand Mr. Darwin's drift. At first, his views were identified with those of Lamarck, that the need for a new organ is sufficient to produce it—that after wishing, through long generations,

to find some readier means than its fins afforded of escaping its enemies, a fish would develop rudiments of wings which, by dint of use, would become strong and serviceable. Cuvier showed the absurdity of thus imagining living organisms, to be "*comme une simple moule de pâte ou d'argile qui se laisserait mouler entre les doigts.*" Even at this distance of time the passage in the *Anatomie Comparée* (p. 100) is well worth reading. It is an answer, not to Darwinism, but to those views which have been falsely coupled with the name, and which (says the great Frenchman) betray a total ignorance of anatomy.

We hope the present volume will put an end to the misapprehension which has allowed our foremost observer to be claimed by theorising atheists; and we hope that before long one who is so justly valued as a careful recorder of facts will recognise the inference to which these facts lead up.

We cannot think that one who has proved so clearly, and by such a multitude of minute experiments, what worms do, and how little proportionate advantage they get from their doing it, should be able to avoid the, to us, inevitable conclusion, that there is conscious design in the part assigned to these humble creatures. Finally, we ask no one to form conclusions on the book till he has read and studied it as a whole. Such a careful study is specially needed for the chapters on denudation. Sometimes in these chapters we might at first think Mr. Darwin was begging the question, at other times we might think his grounds insufficient. For instance, when, having measured and weighed the degradation of the worm-casts on sloping ground, he adds: "*As on level ground castings are commonly thrown up almost equally round the mouths of the burrows; this difference in weight indicates the amount of ejected earth which had flowed down the slope.*" In an ordinary writer the words we have italicised might mean anything or nothing; coming from Mr. Darwin we may be sure they are sufficient, and if we read further on we shall find that they are not exclusively relied on. Mr. Darwin never rests an argument on a single set of facts.

The book, then, is in many ways interesting, chiefly, from our point of view, as an unexpected instance of the way in which Thought governs the universe. We can see no alternative between the doctrine of a Providence and that of mechanical fatalism. The conception of a blind will aim-

ing at it knows not what, and working up to that unconsciously, is one of the wildest that even a German brain ever formed. That thought may reach its aim it must know what it aims at. Not only do—

“All things hold their march  
As if by one great Will,”

But that Will is a reality; there is no “as if” about it. The whole universe is working up to that perfect ideal which has always been present in the mind of God. A non-existent ideal is but a poor object to aim at. The ideal, the end, must be, and must be known to Him in whom all things live, and move, and have their being. In no other way can we conceive of the two series—of cause and effect and means and ends—as fairly reconciled. How can this mechanism of nature, the beautiful arrangement of which is conspicuously shown forth in the work that the earthworm has been doing, not for itself alone, for uncounted ages, be carried out to that perfection which alone can satisfy even the mind of man? How can the ascending and descending scales—cause below cause till we lose ourselves in the infinitely little, and end above end till we rise to the infinitely great—be harmoniously linked together? Only by the certainty that Thought first chose the way in which things should move, and guided them along that way; and that Will, in a manner past our comprehension, keeps them in the way wherein they should go.

We could not expect Mr. Darwin to say all this; his aim is to collect and group facts, and to draw from them their immediate conclusions; but we are thankful that there is nothing in his last book which contravenes the idea of an intelligent will, guiding all things to a preordained end, and that, on the contrary, there is a great deal from which it may be inferred, and which, further still, seems to make any other hypothesis untenable.

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ART. V.—*Americanisms: the English of the New World.*  
By M. SCHELE DE VERE, LL.D. New York.

AN American Foreign Secretary of State desired all diplomatic and consular agents in the service of the United States to make all communications to his department in "the American language." Perhaps no one was more astonished than the Secretary himself at the notice taken both in America and in England of what was probably a slip of the pen. And yet he, and the Czar who tried to fasten a slight upon us by commanding that certain Russian documents should be translated into the *American* rather than the *English* language, uttered words containing at least a germ of truth. The language spoken in the United States, whose inhabitants call themselves "the Americans," as distinct from the Canadians, Mexicans, and other nations of the same continent, is not a dialect or variation of classical English, as is the Somersetshire, or Staffordshire, or Scotch, or Irish dialect. The best-educated Bostonian will not use exactly either the phraseology or intonation of a London barrister, and will rather plume himself upon the difference. The language of the States must be admitted to at least as respectable a position as the Ionic or Doric dialect in its best days held towards the Attic. Indeed, it is somewhat of a reproach to our Transatlantic friends that they have been so dilatory in classifying and explaining their numerous variations from English as spoken in Great Britain. Until the publication of the work whose title heads this paper, the literature of Americanisms, with the exception of a few magazine articles, was limited to Pickering's Vocabulary, the Dictionary of John Russell Bartlett, and the Glossary of supposed Americanisms by Alfred L. Elwyn.

These works are very incomplete. Even Dr. De Vere's book has many omissions, and, what is worse, many inaccuracies. For instance, on page 230, he says, "the frequency of extempore preaching [by which he evidently means preaching without manuscript] prevents, as a matter of course, very careful composition." But it is well known that the use of the manuscript in the pulpit is far more

common among all denominations in America than in England. Again, his statement that the rules of the Methodist Church limit the minister's income to a mere pittance, is equally inaccurate, that Church having no restrictive rule on the subject. In that denomination salaries of 5,000 dollars, with a furnished parsonage, are by no means uncommon in the cities. On p. 242 he speaks of a religious denomination who call themselves "Christians," but when he tells us that the vowel-sound of the first syllable is identical with that of the monosyllable "Christ," he did not apparently know that this pronunciation is employed by other Churches who grudge them the monopoly of such a catholic title, and that it is looked on by the members of this particular sect as an insult. Again, we scarcely think Dr. De Vere meant to be jocular, but it almost looks so, when on page 371, wishing to tell us of the many erroneous names given to birds, from the lack of popular instruction in natural history, he says, "Birds suffer in America, perhaps more than in any other country, from the general want of instruction in natural history." It is a mistake to speak of "reprint" as an Americanism; and we wish we could rely on the accuracy of the statement contained in the words we italicise in the following remark he makes on this word: "It certainly used to be a charming euphemism in olden days, when the works of British authors were issued here without their sanction, and without giving them a fair compensation, a *régime happily unknown in our day*." His statement that "Sabbath is almost universally used in the United States for Sunday," is erroneous, at least so far as the Western States are concerned. When our author revises his book for a new edition, we would suggest that when he comes to the words, "America has sent a fair supply of cant words to the home-country, and they have been welcomed and readily adopted by English politicians and English merchants especially; while at home they spread with a rapidity heretofore unknown in the history of language—thanks to the fact that there is no country where reading is so universal, and newspapers are so numerous," he should add, "and thanks also to the fact that there is no other country where newspapers print slang."

The book contains many words classified as Americanisms, which are as common in England as in America. Among these are the following: *creole*, against which the

United States has not the claim of being the land of its birth, seeing it is the pure Spanish word *criollo*, and doubtlessly originated in the West Indies. *To hobble*, meaning to tie a horse's legs together so that he cannot escape, as in the *Manchester Guardian*, August 31, 1876, "hobbled like a donkey;" *garrote*; the slang phrase, *a thousand of bricks*; *squatter*; *diggings*, used as slang for lodgings, and probably reaching us from Australia; *to stump*, meaning to puzzle or to nonplus; *to fizzle*, meaning to make a ridiculous failure, particularly after a great effort and parade; *to be a caution*; *lengthy*, a word of which De Vere says, "as yet not admitted to the sacred pages of an English dictionary," though it is in Ogilvie's various dictionaries and in Webster's, the only ones we have consulted; *to work like a beaver*; *cruel*, used vulgarly for *very*, a use of the word common in the North of Ireland; *serious*, *to meet with a change*, *experience*, *professor*, all used in expressing phases of religious feeling, and as common among some denominations in England as among the similar denominations in America; *pew*; *a call to a minister from a Church*; *drop in*, meaning to call upon; *solemnise*, which reminds us of another word, "funeralise," which we believe is a pure Americanism, struggling, we trust hopelessly, for existence—it means "to conduct a funeral service;" *denomination*, meaning a religious sect; *to have, or get, the floor*; *dyled in the wool*; *to cotton*; *afraid*, common in many English dialects; *All Hallows Eve*; *alley*, made imperishable by Serjeant Buzfuz with his "alley-taws and commonneys;" *authoress*; *disremember*, common as a vulgarism in Ulster; *independent*, in the phrase "an independent fortune;" *neat*, meaning free from admixture; *periodicals*; *plug*, a preparation of tobacco; *preserves*, used for fruits preserved in sugar: *to quit*, in the sense of to leave off, still common as a vulgarism in England; *to rake up*, in the sense of discovering, bringing to light; *rent*—Dr. De Vere says that this word is unknown with us, "rental" being used invariably instead; *shay*, used as a vulgar corruption of chaise as frequently in England as in America; *shinney*, used in Ulster and in the North of England for the game of "hurl" or "hockey;" *temper*, the author intimating that in England the word does not mean passion, but the control of passion; *man and beast*; *breeches*—pronouncing this word *britches* De Vere quotes as an Americanism; the slang phrase *all in my eye*; *face the*



*music*; and no mistake, used at least in the South of Ireland; *nose to the grindstone*; *nowhere*, denoting utter failure or complete ignorance; *on a pinch*, meaning in an emergency, as "I could lend you £100 on a pinch;" *puke*, in the sense of a contemptible fellow, we should be glad not to acknowledge any connection with; but we fear its use is as frequent with us as with the Americans; *ride and tie*, by no means an American-born, but a good old mother-country phrase.

This list of words and phrases (whose length might be doubled) shows that Professor De Vere lacked at least one qualification for his work, a complete and ready knowledge of colloquial English. This is a very natural deficiency in an American, especially if he has spent little or no time in England. In America, the phraseology of the newspapers, and of perhaps the majority of books, is little above the average style of conversation, and the conversation of the educated classes contains much slang. This is, perhaps, unavoidable in a country where every man has a vote, and where those who are ambitious of being leaders of the people dare not use language too refined lest the populace should accuse them of being "stuck-up" or "proud." An Englishman, by studying a file of American newspapers, will find out how Americans talk, as readily as though he were in New York or Chicago. It is not surprising, then, that an American, reading current English literature, should imagine himself thoroughly "posted" in English colloquialisms.

Several Americanisms occur to us which we cannot discover in the book. *A new departure* originated in the domain of politics, that teeming soil for Americanisms. It is a very impressive phrase, meaning the adoption of a new policy by a party. For instance, if Russia should suddenly declare herself an ally of the Porte, or if the Ritualistic section of the Church should declare the Queen and her representatives infallible, either event might be called "a new departure." *To get through*, used in all parts of the States in the sense of "to finish;" *mean*, the adjective, applied to a person who is contemptible because of something morally wrong. *Ambition*; Dr. De Vere refers to the use of this word in some of the Southern States in the sense of grudge or spite, but forgets that it is used in most of the Northern States as a mere synonym for "energy;" *despatch*, universally em-

ployed for our "telegram;" *good*, as applied to food, means tasting pleasantly; and to health, is used where Englishmen would say *well*; *barn*, used for stable; and *ugly*, for ill-tempered. One or two important words doing important service in England and little known in the States, the Professor probably did not think it necessary to mention. It is no wonder that the descendants of the Puritans should seldom use the word "honour," derived from chivalry and the cavaliers, as a term denoting a basis for a code of morals; such phrases as, "upon my honour," "a man of honour," and the like, are almost unknown. What a vast gap would be made in our verbal treasure-house did we lose our "respectable" and "respectability," words expressing all the noble qualities of our great middle class. Our cousins, every one of whom is a sovereign, can find no use for such terms as these.

We think Dr. De Vere injures the reputation of his country by jumbling together with scarcely any attempt at discrimination classical and slang Americanisms. He quotes the *Biglow Papers*, and, if we mistake not, the works of Artemus Ward, in all their comic orthography, as the American idiom, and adduces the humorous line,

"First it blew, and then it *snew*, and then it frizzed horrid,"

as evidence of the enrichment of America by the word "snew." As well might a writer on the English language quote "Villikins and his Dinah" as a specimen of the vocabulary of Tennyson and Browning.

We think a more philosophical arrangement of the subject might be devised than that adopted by the author. The headings of his chapters are: 1. The Indian; 2. Immigrants from Abroad; 3. The Great West; 4. The Church; 5. Politics; 6. Trade of all Kinds; 7. Afloat; 8. On the Rail; 9. Natural History; 10. Old Friends with New Faces; 11. Cant and Slang; 12. New Words and Nicknames. The fault in this arrangement is that if every chapter is to contain all that its heading includes, the majority of the Americanisms will require to be repeated more than once. The writer of this article has received in a private letter from a distinguished educator and philologist, the Rev. Dr. Fradenburgh, Titusville, Pennsylvania, the following arrangement of the subject: 1. Eastern Dialects; 2. Southern; 3. Western; 4. Pacific or Mining; 5. Perhaps also English-Dutch of Pennsylvania.

We should do Dr. De Vere great injustice, did our criticism stop here. Though his work has some blemishes, they are rather of omission than commission, and can be easily corrected in a future edition. He is the first who has entered this important field with the energy of an explorer. His book displays long and patient research and observation, and no lack of critical acumen, and we regret that there has not yet been a reprint of it on this side the Atlantic.

When we consider the three centuries during which the English language has been spoken in North America, the many races that have gone to compose the heterogeneous and yet marvellously welded American nation, the jealousy of everything English which long prevailed, the fact that the leading English classics, except the Bible, have, until very lately, been read only by a small minority, the habits foreign to English customs, the natural surroundings and the artificial conditions of life peculiar to that continent, it seems wonderful that our American cousins should speak a language so essentially the same as our own. An American in England is "bewrayed" at once by his intonation, his choice of words, and the structure of his sentences; but probably not one in ten of those foreigners who consider themselves well versed in English could distinguish him from a native-born Englishman. As intercourse between England and America increases with the enlargement of international commerce, the improvement and cheapening of travelling facilities, and the accumulation of wealth, we may well believe that the centripetal force binding the English of the two continents together will increase, while the centrifugal force created by two separate literatures and the diversities of manners and customs will probably diminish, so that the English of the next centennial may be almost identical on both sides the Atlantic.

Among the contributions to the American idiom the first is a very small offering from the poor Red Man. Swept from the land by the fiery impetuosity of the Anglo-Saxons, the remnant of his race still maintaining a precarious foothold in the far West, the Indian has not left as deep an impression on the language of his conquerors as did the Celts, one and a half millenniums ago, when driven by the same indomitable spirit to the wilds of Wales and Cornwall. Professor De Vere laments that Indian names have not been retained more frequently. "There is music even in

the roughest of Indian names; and some like Susquehannah, Iōwa, Minnehaha, Dahlonēga, and Taloolah are smooth and melodious almost to perfection. Even Pawcatuck, and Met-a-cut-o, properly Nicataquoc, are less grating upon the civilised ear than Ovid and Palmyra, to say nothing of Sodom and Babylon, which the old Puritans inflicted, they alone knew why, upon some places in their new dominion." Some of the villanous names by which the sweet-sounding Indian words have been supplanted are collected in a poem (?) of which we quote a few lines :

"Hard Scrabble, Fair Play, Nip and Tuck, and Patch,  
With Catholic, Whig and Democrat to match,  
Blue River, Strawberry and Hoof Noggle steep,  
And Trespass, and Slake Bag, Clay Hole deep,  
Bee Town, Hard Times, and Old Rattlesnake,  
Black Leg, Shingle Ridge, Babel and Stake,  
Menomenee, Rattail Ridge, may measure out this sonnet,  
With Bull Branch, Upper Coon—pour no curses on it!"

Even such atrocities are, however, occasionally surpassed by wilful absurdities, as when a beautiful sheet of water in Vermont was wantonly deprived of its fair and legitimate Indian name, to be called *Llama* water (written now *Lama* water) in honour of General Wool.

To the Indian belongs the credit of originating the famous term "Yankee," a word applied, as all Englishmen are not aware, only to the citizens of the New England States. The best authorities now agree that the term is derived from the imperfect attempt of the North American Indian to pronounce "English." *Indian file* is another expression derived from a custom of the Red Men, and which has strayed to our shores, and *Wampum*, *Sachem*, and *Copperhead* declare their origin; while *canoe*, though meaning an Indian boat, is doubtless the Carib *canaoa*.

The representatives of so many different nationalities, landing in America in hordes vaster than those of the barbarians who from the North used to cross the Alps into Italy, have accepted the Anglo-Saxon with a celerity and completeness which almost deserves to be called a reversal of the confusion of tongues. But, as the smallest aerolite that is attracted by the vast bulk of the earth, exerts, at the same time, a force which draws the earth—to a small though inappreciable extent—from her true orbit, so every immigrant has tended to influence the language he en-

countered on landing. The total effect has been anything but inappreciable. Some peculiar strands have thus become interwoven with the national web.

The influence of the Dutch is seen in the idioms of New York and Pennsylvania. It may be traced in such names of localities, as Hell-Gate, Sandy Hook, and Yonkeers, in a small cake called *cookey*, originally *koekje*, and in the common pronunciation in the neighbourhood of New York of *pump* as *pomp*. It furnishes the useful adjective *logy*, applied to a ship, a horse, a preacher, or anything else, and meaning prosy, slow, or dull. *Stoop*, a word used all through the States for the roofed platform which runs round one or two sides of almost every house, is also Dutch. The same source furnishes *Santa Klaus*, more correctly *Klaas*, dear to children, and also *Boss*. This last-mentioned is one of the most dignified and self-important little words in the language. It does service either as noun or verb. It means an employer, or the head of a gang of workmen, or a master or overseer of any kind. It is a coveted and honourable title. When the late Lord Carlisle was travelling in America, a stage-driver said to him, "I suppose the Queen is your *boss*, now?" In the same sense, the *New York Herald* said, in speaking of the Pope, "Rothschild refused to let him have any (money). The fact is, Rothschild is the real Pope and *boss* of all Europe." A negro was once hired to split some wood for a dollar. An hour later he was found sitting on a log watching another "darkey" doing the work for which he had been hired. When asked how much he was to pay this second, he replied, "Well, sah, I's to give him dolla and quarta. You see, sah, it's worth the extra quarta to *boss the job!*"

The French language has left few traces in the States, excepting a vast number of words in the spheres of war and fashion, which our American cousins have in common with ourselves. Almost all the Americanisms of French origin, besides names of places, are geographical terms. Of this class are *bayou*, a wide stream or channel, used in the *Biglow Papers*:

"I had to cross *bayous* and creeks (wal, it did beat all natur')  
Upon a kind of corduroy, first log, then alligator;"

*levee*, meaning the high embankments on the Lower Mississippi; *prairie*, a level or rolling tract of land,

covered with coarse grass and generally characterised by a rich soil of great depth ; *carry all*, a kind of carriage, which is merely a corruption of *carriole* ; and *vendue*, used almost universally for our *auction*.

"The Spaniards have been so long masters in Mexico and Florida, that the acquisition of the latter State, and the formation of California and the territory obtained after the Mexican war into several new States, have made our people familiar with many terms belonging to their language. They remember with deep interest that the oldest town in the United States is *St. Augustine*, in Florida, founded in 1565 by the Spaniards. *Santa Rosa* and *Fernandina* in Florida, retain with their ancient names many a relic and ruin of Spanish days, and California is almost altogether Spanish, so far as local names and the most familiar expressions are concerned. Spanish words, especially those relating to horses and mules and to their equipments, have of late come into general use in Oregon, owing to intercourse with California."

It seems probable that any future accretion to American English will be more and more from Spanish sources, as the States come to control the commerce of their Spanish-speaking neighbours.

The German element is one of the most important in the States. The Germans constitute a large proportion of the population of the cities, and own vast tracts of land in all the agricultural States. Their churches and press are powerful and high-toned, their potent voice is heard in State legislatures and in the national senate. Their influence is felt in every State, and their vote is frequently decisive in great crises. And yet our author tells us truthfully—

"They have not enriched our language by a dozen important words. The very fact of their excessive readiness to adapt themselves to all the exigencies of their new home, their unwillingness to use their own idiom as soon as they have acquired enough English to converse in it freely, and their prompt admission of the superiority of American terms as well as institutions, have well-nigh neutralised the influence they might have exerted by their numbers, their intelligence, and their superior education. They have, no doubt, powerfully affected the national mind in all that pertains to the realm of thought. American churches, American letters, and even American manners, bear more or less the impress of German teachings ; but the marks are not visible, because the action has been too subtle and slow, too secret and silent, to leave its traces on the surface."



One or two of even the small family of German Americanisms have no family likeness by which to betray their parentage. For instance, who would think that the hard-worked word *standpoint* came to us from Germany *via* America? And yet it is generally believed to have originated in the States, and to be a literal version of the German *Standpunkt*. The popular American word *loafer* is the German *Läuffer*, the *au* pronounced by half Germany with the vulgar sound of *o*. The loafer "is the vagabond, or idle lounge, who so oddly contradicts the world's impression of American energy and irrepressible activity; who meets you at every corner and in every grog-shop of a city; disfigures every village as he sits on empty boxes and window-sills, lazily whittling a stick, and spitting his villanous tobacco; who supports bar-rooms, and ruins his family, and destroys his own life." The Americans with their usual freedom have formed from this term the verb "to loaf," and Walter Whitman tells us that the forte of his nation is "confessedly loafing and writing poems." *Lagerbier* and *Sauerkraut* are perhaps the only other German words which have become really naturalised in America. There is, however, a somewhat quaint phrase derived from this source. The Germans have noticed that newly-born animals are apt to be licked dry promptly everywhere except behind the ears, and hence they have a colloquial phrase, which has spread through the States, "The youngster is not dry yet behind his ears." Rustic maidens rejecting the attentions of youths whom they consider too young to be lovers, are fond of saying, "You are not dry yet behind the ears, you had better wait."

The Chinaman has not yet become sufficiently established to make much impression on the language; and if contempt and ill-use will prevent literary influence, it may be long before we have to mention any Chinese contributions to American English. The only Chinese word which has become naturalised is *kootoo*, meaning Chinese bowing. We find it in so respectable a paper as the *New York Tribune*, which makes some pretensions to literary style and elegance. Speaking of the American citizen, it says, "Consequently it has kootooed and salaamed before every travelling scribbler or story-monger, fearing that he would be dismissed by them to the dunce's stool for some solecism in manner or pronunciation."

In the Western States and territories the student of

English will find a rich harvest of new words, of old words made to answer new purposes, and of phrases with some poetic beauty, such as could only arise amid scenes of beauty, energy, and danger.

"The language of Western men has been called high-flown, overwrought, grandiloquent. It may be so, but it is so only as a fair representation of the Western world, which God created on a large scale, and which in its turn grows faster, works harder, achieves more than any other land on earth has ever done. Nor must it be forgotten that the West has no severe critic to correct abuses, no court and no polite society to taboo equivocal words, no classic writers to impart good taste and train the ear to a love of gentle words and flowing verse. . . It (Western speech) is an intensified, strangely impulsive language, just as the life's blood of the whole West throbs with faster pulse, and courses with fuller vigour through all its veins. There is no greater difference between the stately style of Milton, and the dashing, reckless lines of Swinburne, than between the formal, almost pedantic echo of Johnsonian rhyme in Hawthorne's work, and the free and easy verses of Bret Harte. Hence, New England has wit, and what can be more caustic than Lowell's deservedly famous political squibs? But the West has humour, golden humour, full of poetry, dramatising dry facts into flesh and blood, but abounding in charity and good-will to all men."

Many of the peculiarly Western terms and phrases have been suggested by the natural conditions of the country. When land looks fair and well watered, care has to be taken to ascertain if the latter is not, perhaps, in summer a *dry creek*; and the only drawback the new settler encounters in these fertile regions is the probability of a drought in the summer months. Hence *dry* and *drought* (or its more ancient form *drouth*) are much used in the country. As the drying up of a river stops most agricultural operations, the verb *to dry up* has become synonymous with to make an end. "*Dry up!*" is a familiar slang term for the more considerate hush!" Should the reader ever form one of a caravan crossing some far Western prairie, and at early dawn be awakened by the leader loudly calling "Lave, lave," let him not think it the Irish equivalent for "leave." It is a naturalised backwoods word, contracted from the French *levez vous*. *To sit on a fence* is a common sarcastic phrase. As a man sitting astride his rail-fence can with equal ease jump down on either side, the phrase is applied to what we call a trimmer in religion or politics. Persons who are, as J. R. Lowell says,

"A kind of hangin' round and settin' on the fence,  
Till Providence pintoed out how to jump an' save the most  
expense,"

men who "believe, with Dædalus, the prime sitter-on-the-fence, *medium tenere tutissimum*," politicians of this class are said to be *fence-men*. They "wait to see on which side victory will declare itself, to jump down and join in the shouts of the winning party; and while the state of uncertainty lasts, they are said to be *fence-riding*."

The two articles most indispensable to the backwoodsman are his axe and rifle. In many of the States he has spent most of his working life axe in hand, felling trees to make room, first for his log-cabin, and then for his wheat, corn, and potatoes. Almost the worst of little disappointments that can happen in the routine of his daily toil is for the axe-head to slip from the handle, or *helve*, as he calls it. Hence the phrase *to fly off the handle* has naturally become figurative. "If a fair lady loses her temper, or, worst of all, if she breaks the tender promise, she is said to *fly off the handle*, and the disappointment is as serious to the unlucky lover as a lost axe to many a settler. The meaning is occasionally extended beyond that misfortune even, as when the *New York Home Journal* speaks of a poor man having succeeded to a large fortune from a distant relative who "*went off the handle* in England rather unexpectedly."

The rifle has furnished several useful metaphorical expressions. Thus, if a person is keeping close, perhaps suspicious, watch of another, he is sometimes said to be *keeping his trigger-eye on him*. In taking cautious aim the Western hunter raises the foresight, which resembles a bead, till it comes in a line with the hind-sight, and then fires: hence, *to draw a bead*, means to fire, and hence even the man who attacks another in his speech is said *to have drawn a bead on him*. Shooting deer has furnished the phrase *to fire into the wrong flock*, denoting a mistake made in the effort to overcome an adversary, or in rashly attacking an adversary who "turns out a Tartar," and corresponds to our saying about taking "the wrong sow by the ear."

The rowdies of the frontier do not like the terms murder, kill, or even die, and employ various euphemisms to express the same idea. Two, which look American, *to rub out* and *to wipe out*, are borrowed from English slang. Dr.

De Vere tells us of "a very odd expression, confined, however, mainly to the mountaineers in the wilder parts of the South-west; they say they send a man *up Green River*, when they have killed him. The phrase has its origin in a once famous factory on Green River, where a superior kind of large knife was made, very popular among hunters and trappers."

Western irreverence has spoiled at least one phrase that was once alike poetical and pious. "Of old, *to go up* meant to go to heaven, a meaning illustrated by a tombstone in Dixon, Illinois, on which, above the name of the deceased, a hand pointed heavenward, and the words *Gone up!* were added." It is now a slang phrase occasionally referring to death, but more frequently to the failure of any enterprise, great or small. In early times, on the frontier, when ammunition was scarce, even a single load of powder and shot was important, since food or life depended on the rifle, and so it was common for a hunter to say of a deer he had shot, that he had *saved* it. Hence the Red Men he has killed, he also naturally boasts of having *saved*. A renowned duellist, who was also a Texan judge, said: "I have shot three men, and two of them I *saved*."

The wild turkey has given rise to a playful phrase *to talk turkey*, now quite common in the Eastern States. It originated with a white man, who thus proposed to divide the spoils with his fellow Indian hunter: "Now, either I'll have the turkey and you have the crow, or you have the crow and I the turkey, just which you like." "Ugh," said the Indian, "you no talk turkey to me at all."

To *sour* on an unpleasant task or occupation is a word now used in all parts of the Union, though originating in the West. "As the English swain is said to be 'sweet' on his lady-love, so the Texas youth *sours* on the beauty that will not listen to his addresses, and the man who abandons his plantations to take up some other business, is said to have '*soured*' on planting." "Snakes, whom the backwoodsman hates with intense bitterness, furnish him with several graphic expressions. He has his *snake* (or zigzag) *fences*, and countless *snake-roots*, reputed to cure snake-bites. The horror with which he discovers a snake has suggested to him the picturesque phrase of *waking snakes* with a double meaning. In grim allusion to the wriggling, hissing crowd of hideous creatures, he speaks of

a peculiarly noisy, boisterous frolic as a *waking of snakes*. . . . The other meaning is derived from the sense of sudden terror excited by the discovery, and makes *waking snakes* equivalent to 'running away quickly.'

The tendency of Western Americans to make their speech as novel-sounding as possible, gives new meanings to many words. For instance, *crowded* is used often instead of brought or sent, as when Peter Cartwright says, "God Almighty *crowded* me into the world bareheaded, and I think no more harm to enter Massachusetts bareheaded, than for the Lord to bring me into the world without a hat." Probably most people regard both the expression and the custom, *Lynch law*, as purely American, but Dr. De Vere tells us that the earliest date assigned as an origin to the custom is the year 1498, when an Irishman, "James Lynch, Mayor of Galway, hanged his own son out of the window for defrauding and killing strangers, without martial or common law, to show a good example to posterity." "The horse plays in many ways a prominent part in the dramatic manner of speaking in the West, and has thence found its way back to the Eastern States." "Anything strikingly small or insignificant, from a church to a bank, and from a governor to a constable, is a poor *one-horse* affair. The indignant settler, who has been ill-treated, as he fancies, in court, denounces his attorney as a 'miserable *one-horse* lawyer,'" and Mark Twain denounces Rome as a "*one-horse* sort of place." "The *wheel-horse* is the Western man's best friend, and the wheel-horse of a political party its main prop and support. On the other hand, the figure of speech swells up to a *whole team*, the highest term of approbation that Western men apply to a special favourite, the 'good fellow' of England, as well as the man of great wealth or marked energy. 'I like the judge,' said a man from St. Louis to Mr. Prescott once, speaking of Dr. Story; 'he is none of your *one-horse* lawyers; he is a *whole team*;' and the *New York Herald* not long ago declared: 'Grant is a *whole team*, and a horse extra, and a dog under the waggon.' Here the *ne plus ultra* of recommendation is graphically conveyed by a charming completeness of the original figure of speech."

The slang lengthening of *Sir* into emphatic *Sirree* will probably not be allowed permanently to survive. It is at present as common in the South as in the West. "In a case tried at Baltimore, a juror was supposed to be intoxi-

cated. The judge, addressing the man, said, 'Sir, are you drunk?' The juror, straightening himself up, in a bold, defiant tone, replied, 'No, *Sirree Bob!*' 'Well,' said the judge, 'I fine you five dollars for the *ree* and five for the *bob.*'"

Dr. De Vere gives a long list of Americanisms connected with the Church or religion, but most of the words it includes are as common in England among similar denominations as in the States. Among *bonâ fide* Americanisms of this class are *protracted efforts* or *protracted meetings*, meaning a series of special religious services, customary among all denominations except the Protestant Episcopal Church; *exercises*, a generic term for any portion of a religious service; *Millerites*, *Dunkers*, and other names of sects. De Tocqueville has said, "Than politics the American citizen knows no higher profession—for it is the most lucrative." The vast interest felt by all Americans in politics causes large accretions to the political vocabulary of everything that is most expressive and intense. The extension of the suffrage to the very lowest and most ignorant classes favours the admission of so many vulgar and cant terms into politics that the line between slang and solemn speech is not always carefully drawn. "Where appeals are made at every election to vast assemblies, not unfrequently consisting largely of so-called Mean Whites, and of Blacks but recently emancipated from slavery and all its blighting consequences, strong colours must be used to paint the adversary, and still stronger language to impress the dull minds. The newspapers join, as a matter of necessity, in the general hue and cry, and foster the taste for violent epithets and picturesque expressions. The very heroes of the day are recommended on the score of their humble origin and modest occupation: the *self-made* man is preferred to the accomplished son of distinguished parents, and to be a gentleman has well-nigh become an insuperable barrier to success in political life." What a humiliating confession are these last words!

The limits of this paper will not allow us to discuss the political vocabulary of America at such length as we could wish, but we will make a brief reference to some of the most important words of this class. *Uncle Sam*, the favourite title with Americans for their Government, originated as follows. In the year 1812, a Mr. Wilson, known among his friends as Uncle Sam, was an army government



inspector. It so happened that casks and chests were all marked with the initials of the contractor above, and beneath with those of the United States (U.S.). A facetious person gave to these initials the meaning of *Uncle Sam*. The jest took, was repeated by the other workmen, and became universally popular.

*Brother Jonathan* is derived from a Jonathan Turnbull, once Governor of Connecticut, and Washington's right-hand man. *To have an axe to grind*, meaning to have some personal object to serve, is a phrase derived from politics. Members of the legislature who appear generous or patriotic, while they really act from a selfish motive, are said *to have an axe to grind*. The *New York Tribune* says: "The number of axes which are taken to the various state capitals to be ground at the public expense, is perfectly enormous." *Caucus*, a word which is becoming naturalised amongst ourselves, means a convention called by a party to nominate its candidates for office. To Americans it is a mystery who selects our candidates for Parliament. Among them every voter has a voice in the preliminary nomination. Probably the first use of the word was among the ship-caulkers of Boston, who, when they were on strike, or had a grievance to complain of, used to hold a meeting to discuss their affairs. Such a meeting was called by their enemies a *caucus*. Other fanciful derivations have been given, such as *scyphus*, a cup, used by Joseph for divination, the Latin *ioculare*, and the German *gaukeln*.

We need scarcely say that the word *institution* is in America one of the worst used words in existence. We read, "Garrotting, as an *institution*, may be said to be almost extinct in New York." "Even the usually careful writers of the *New York Tribune* once said, 'Woman cannot be counted out and treated as a mere appendage. She is an *institution*, and hereafter must receive the most general culture and recognition.' The buzzards of Charleston are gravely described as an "*institution* of the city;" and when Mr. Seward visited China, a correspondent wrote, "On that morning the visitors were, for the first time, made acquainted with an Eastern *institution*," by which he meant a typhoon of great severity.

*Skedaddle* is an Americanism which has gained for itself a place in the universal English language. "It appeared in print probably for the first time immediately after the battle of Bull Run, and was at once caught at

and repeated all over the country." As to its origin, "a facetious writer in the *Louisville Journal* was probably the first to derive it from the Greek verb σκεδαννυμι, and its infrequent aorist σκεδασα." But there is no need to go so far for a derivation when we remember that in an old Irish version of the New Testament the word is used thus: "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be *sgedad-ol*." The word is well known in Scotland and in the North of England. In Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire, milkmaids are heard to say, "See, you are *skedad-dling* all your milk." We find the same word in the kindred Scandinavian dialects, in the Swedish *skuddadahl*, and the Danish *skyededeht*, and probably these Scandinavians imported the word into the army.

"It cannot be denied that if the English are a nation of shopkeepers, the Americans are not unmindful of the same source of wealth, and shop-slang forms no insignificant part of our peculiar speech." But Dr. De Vere would have been more correct had he spoken of Americans as *store-keepers*, since most of them disdain anything so low as keeping a *shop*. Some words, derived from trade, that look like Americanisms, are really obsolete English words. For instance, who could think we had a claim on the phrase "almighty dollar," and yet Ben Jonson says:

"Whilst that for which all virtue now is sold,  
And almost every vice, almighty gold."

*Bogus*, a term which is now largely used in England, is a corruption of *Borghese*, the name of an American forger. It is now applied to anything or any person suspected of being unreal or fraudulent. Thus a woman whose beauty is artificial is a *bogus beauty*, and in courts of justice *bogus charges* are of frequent occurrence. *Trade* is not applied exclusively, as with us, to an avocation, but may be employed to denote a single commercial transaction, and especially an exchange of any kind. *To trade* is used instead of the English *to shop*. This use of the word is good old legitimate English, as in Ezek. xxvii. 13, where we read, "they *traded* the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market."

Americans spend a good deal of time in travelling, and hence we find several interesting Americanisms derived from the rail. Our "railway station" becomes *depot* (pronounced dee-po); our carriages are *cars* or *coaches*, our

permanent way the *track*, our sleepers *ties*, our railway *railroad*, our luggage *baggage*, our luggage-vans *baggage-cars*, and our engine-driver, if he emigrate to the States, will attain the dignity of an *engineer*, while his comrade the guard will become a *conductor*. *Switch*, both as noun and verb, does duty for points and shunt; the traveller does not enter or take his seat in the train, but *goes aboard the cars*. In England the guard says, "Passengers, take your seats;" in the States the conductor says, *all aboard*, as though it were one word accented on the first syllable; and if a passenger for any reason is allowed *on board* without paying, he receives the title of *deadhead*. This last term is coming into very general use, always meaning the person "who enjoys without paying whatever others have for money." "Hence the class of *deadheads* is almost endless, every favour being returned, every adverse criticism averted, and every service acknowledged by a free ticket. The *deadhead* receives his newspapers without subscribing, travels free of charge on steamboat, railroad, and stage, walks into the theatre and shows of every kind unmolested, and even drinks at the bar and lives at the hotel without charge." Thus, as Dr. De Vere says: "The largest part of so-called Americanisms are nothing more than good old English words, which for one reason or another have become obsolete or provincial in England, while they have retained their full power and citizenship in the United States."

A recent writer in the *New Englander* argues with much plausibility that New England might more correctly be named "Older England." "Let the English traveller in this country," he says, "instead of going west from New York, go east. Let him traverse the Holy Land of Boston Common, and linger under the impecunious shadow of the old South. Let him stroll along the wharves of Nantucket or Marthai Vineyard, and spend an hour amid the quaint headstones of a New England burying-ground. My conviction is that he will come away with the impression that he has never been in quite such an old-world country as this. He has left old England indeed; but it is only to find an older England still, 3,000 miles nearer to the setting sun." Lowell says, "This speculative Jonathan is more like the Englishman of two centuries ago than John Bull is. He has lost somewhat in solidity, has become fluent and adaptable, but more of the original groundwork of

character remains. He is nearer than John by at least a hundred years to Naseby, Marston Moor, Worcester, and the time when, if ever, there were true Englishmen." The evidences of an older England across the sea are very apparent in the everyday language of Cousin Jonathan. The Pilgrim Fathers brought with them many of the provincialisms of the northern and western counties of England. For instance, the word *town* (unnoticed in this connection by De Vere, and elsewhere confounded with *country*) means in the States one of the portions into which every county is divided. It generally contains a village to which the surrounding farmers come to do their "trading." This meaning is closely allied to its use in Wycliffe's time, who evidently regards the "town" as the agricultural district outside the village, when he translates Luke xvi. 15: "He sent him into his *toune* to feed swine." Similarly, in the Authorised Version, village and city are the only words used for assemblages of houses, a custom strictly in accordance with American usage. Again, *to advocate* was once objected to as an Americanism, but it is found on the first page of Milton's *Animadversions*. So also, *to allow* is constantly used in the Middle and Southern States in the sense of affirming a statement, and even in New England as meaning to approve, an usage De Vere does not notice. This latter meaning is common in England in the phrase affirming that the Deity "cannot look upon sin with any degree of allowance." Educated persons even in America look with contempt on *bile*, used for *boil* both as noun and verb, but it once had a defender in no less an authority than the great Dr. Johnson, who says: "Bile: this is generally spelt *boil*, but, I think, less properly." That dreadful vulgarity, *to chaw*, is found in so aristocratic a lodging as Pepys's *Diary*. *To down*, as in Sidney's "to down proud hearts," is common in America. The well-known *guess* was used in its present American sense by Spenser, Chaucer, Locke, and Milton. In an article reprinted from a New York paper in a London daily, it is stated that the sentries on guard at the White House, after the attempted assassination of President Garfield, had *lunch* brought to them. This does not refer to a midday meal, but to an improvised meal eaten at any time, by day or night. In England we should perhaps say "a snack," or merely "something to eat." This use of the word, universal in

the States, is found in Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. In *Roderick Random* we read of a "divine creature dressed in a sack of white satin," an expression which every American would understand, though an Englishman would require to be told that she was arrayed in a "jacket." In the same book we find the Americanism "a long spell," meaning "a long time." Smollett also uses *shears* for *scissors*, as is customary in the States. A modern Englishman would be puzzled in America when he heard of the farm-servant "doing chores," would become nervous when his neighbour speaks of being "mad," nauseated if his friend said he was "sick," mystified when a stupid boor is called "clever," and offended when his baby is said to be "cunning." But a man of the Elizabethan period could restore his equanimity by informing him that "chores" means the miscellaneous duties of a barnyard, "to be mad" is merely being angry, "sick" refers to any illness, "clever" means good-natured, and "cunning" is a word applied only to that sweet and innocent intelligence so delightful in children. Americans indulge in a prudery which includes only the words in their conversation, and not always the ideas they represent, causing some ungainly and absurd contortions of plain speech. There are few purists so strong-minded as to avoid calling a leg a *limb*, or who would not say *retire* rather than *go to bed*. Cows do not *calve* but *come in*; rooster and even *he-biddy* are used for cock, *ox* for bull.

We close this article with a sentence from *The North British Review* of 1877: "Ideas which filter slowly into English soil, and abide there for a generation, flash like comets into the elastic atmosphere of America."

ART. VI.—1. *Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1832—1880.* London: Murray.

2. *The York Herald for September, 1881.*

THE Jubilee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, celebrated at York in September last, furnished an opportunity to the Presidents both of the Association itself and of the several sections into which it is divided, to review the progress made during the last fifty years. The triumphs of science have been recounted with pardonable pride, and the prospects of the future depicted in colours not less brilliant, if necessarily less distinct, than the history of the past. The daily journals have echoed the strains of the jubilant *savants*, pointing their readers to the palpable tokens everywhere greeting the senses of the most casual observer, which tell of man's strife with nature, and his success in extracting her secrets and turning her subtlest and most powerful agencies to his own advantage. The occasion is worthy of all, and more than all, the enthusiasm it has evoked. The event might well have been regarded as one of national importance. Had a day been set apart for universal rejoicing and thanksgiving on account of the benefits conferred upon men by the labours of those who devote themselves to scientific pursuits, such a demonstration would not have been disproportioned to the greatness of the occasion, or out of harmony with the spirit and objects of the men whose zeal and devotion had so much to do with ushering in the new order of things. Pythagoras offering up his hecatomb of victims on the discovery of the most important proposition in geometry—to recall a doubtful but not uncharacteristic tradition—had not better grounds for his gratitude than modern witnesses of the new powers that have been recently given to mankind; nor could the latter have adopted a better method of showing theirs than by imitating, *mutatis mutandis*, this act of the philosopher of number. But the



parade and display of such a memorial would not have befitted either the sober habits of the English people or the silent and unostentatious methods by which science is employed in making good and strengthening her claim to the attention and respect of men. She has no need of empty plaudits from unthinking crowds: her sincerest praise is the assiduous study and contemplation of her works, and that is best given in the privacy and solitude in which those works themselves are with great pains and steady patience elaborated.

We would add our congratulations to those which have been offered by the periodical press generally, and in doing so would point out to our readers some of the more striking waymarks that dot the pathway of the British Association during the first half-century of its existence.

The society owes its origin to Sir David Brewster, a man whose whole life was enthusiastically devoted to the interests of science, and who will long be remembered, not only for his attempts to popularise it by his elementary treatises, and his lives of Euler, Newton, Galileo, Tycho Brahe and Kepler, but also by his invention of the kaleidoscope and stereoscope, and of the polygonal lens now used in our lighthouses in the place of the old parabolic reflectors, as well as by his original researches into the nature of light. His editorship of the *Edinburgh Journal of Science* had brought him into contact with some of the foremost scientists of the day, and had strongly impressed him with the necessity of more thorough co-operation among them, in order to greater economy of labour and wider range of observation. In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, he broached his views upon the subject, which met with a cordial welcome among men representing the various departments of science. Thus encouraged, a letter was addressed by him on the 23rd of February, 1831, to Professor Phillips, Secretary of the York Philosophical Society, inquiring whether accommodation could be provided in that city for the persons who might be expected to assemble at such a gathering as it was desired to hold. The reply being favourable, invitations were issued to the presidents and secretaries of all the principal scientific institutions, thirteen in London, and twenty-six in the provinces, of which last nine belonged to the city of York. The number of local societies in the neigh-

bourhood seems to indicate considerable activity in scientific research at York, and this was probably one reason for its selection. The Philosophical Society had been in operation some eight or ten years, owing its existence to the discoveries made at the now famous Kirkdale cave.

As the time drew near for holding the meeting, some anxiety was naturally felt as to its success. The experiment was new. The invited persons were unknown to each other. Class prejudices might have their influence; pre-occupations, jealousies—not by any means unknown even to scientific men—dislike of publicity, doubts as to the advantage of such a gathering, difficulties of travel, all these would have their effect. When the day arrived, however, the 27th of September, 1831, these fears were seen to be groundless. An assembly of more than three hundred persons filled the theatre of the Yorkshire Museum, the actual number of tickets issued being three hundred and fifty-three. The gathering included representatives from all parts of the land. On the motion of Dr. Brewster, Viscount Milton, afterwards Earl Fitzwilliam, the president of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, was called to the chair. In an address, the substance of which is preserved in the report—the first of a series of noble addresses which have been delivered since at the opening of each successive meeting—the President set forth the objects of the proposed Association. It was not designed to revive expiring interest, or to prop a failing cause. It was true three of the foremost sons of science—Davy, Wollaston, and Young—had just been taken from their midst; but their spirit continued to animate their successors. What they witnessed was a multiplication rather than a diminution of societies and funds. There was, however, room and need for one more, whose object should be to unite and direct all the rest. No existing institution fulfilled this requirement. The Royal Society, the parent of so many others, had from the first cherished a lofty ideal, “to reduce to practice the fiction of the new Atlantis,” to convert the dreams of Bacon into facts. But it had become too exclusive in its spirit and aims. Various societies had branched off from it, which no longer retained any connection with the parent stock, and the consequence had been a disastrous isolation. The great want of science was unity among its votaries. The most successful interpreters of nature had always been those who had grasped the widest field of inquiry.

But there was a sense in which it might be said that science never possessed a whole man. There were, however, men scattered over the country who were willing to devote themselves to special branches of inquiry; and if their efforts were directed to a common object, the same results would be obtained as if one master-mind were to survey the whole field. It was fitting also that science should come forth from the privacy of the laboratory and observatory, and show herself in public. And an Association meeting, year by year, in different places, would diffuse knowledge and excite interest; while, owing to the shortness of its sessions and the generality of its aims, it would not encroach upon the province of other institutions.

The first work of the Association was, of course, to constitute itself. Officers were appointed, Viscount Milton as president and Dr. Buckland president-elect, the Rev. W. V. Harcourt as vice-president, and Drs. Brewster and Whewell vice-presidents elect. Local Committees were also nominated for London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and other places, and also sub-committees. On the lists there figure the names of R. I. Murchison, J. D. Forbes, J. F. W. Johnston, John Robison, W. R. Hamilton, John Dalton, and Adam Sedgwick, all mighty men and men of renown. The next business was to direct that reports should be prepared of the actual state of science, and to allot these tasks to the men most competent to discharge them. The necessity for a division of labour suggested the creation of distinct departments or sections, each to have a president and committee of its own, and each to hold its sessions and conduct its deliberations independently of the rest, while subject to a common management, subscribing to, and receiving assistance from a common fund, and at times uniting with the rest for the consideration of some topic of more than ordinary moment. The number of sections appointed at this first meeting was five, namely, A. Mathematics and Physical Science; B. Chemistry; C. Geology; D. Zoology and Botany, including Physiology; E. Geography and Ethnology. Two other sections were subsequently added; F. Economic Science and Statistics, in 1833; and G. Mechanical Science and Engineering, in 1837. This last sprang naturally out of Section A., the task of applying the principles of Mathematics, as embodied in Natural Philosophy, to the actual service of man in the

construction of works gradually assuming such proportions as to demand separate consideration and attention. Section A. henceforth confined its inquiries to theory, while the new Section addressed itself to practical results.

The genesis of Section F. was somewhat different. From the first it was perceived that, however the promoters of the Association might desire to realise the aims of Bacon, there were some of them which they would do well to waive. He took all knowledge for his province. If they did the same, not only would the area of their labours be vastly increased, but topics would be introduced which would inevitably awaken discord. It was impossible to discuss the current problems of mental, moral and political philosophy, without stirring up party strife. It was not simply that the problems themselves were unsettled. That difficulty would but furnish a reason for attacking them, and it was a difficulty shared by most other departments. But in view of prevailing religious and political differences, the agitation of such questions was seen to be the introduction of a solvent that would speedily disintegrate the most compact society. The quest of truth would soon become a struggle for power. So the entire domain of philosophy proper was cut off at a stroke. The boundary line was rightly indicated by the Prince Consort, in his address as President at Aberdeen in 1859, when he stated that the business of the Association was to deal with objective and not subjective knowledge. There were those, however, even at the first meeting, who felt that some aid might be rendered to this department of human research without trenching on the province of the moral philosopher. They held that there were problems in social science and political economy which might be approached from the side of observation and inquiry, and which presented as goodly an array of objective facts as astronomy or geology. It could do no harm to watch the working of social, sanitary, and other arrangements, to collect statistics, and even to generalise upon them, provided the work was done in good faith, and with due warning that any departure from such a spirit would tend to its undoing. Accordingly, in the year 1833, Section F. was established. It has done good service, although from the different character of its aims, and perhaps some want of sympathy with them, as well as from a certain dogmatism that has

only too naturally characterised the social reformers who have prosecuted its inquiries, it has never been a great favourite either with the public or with the members of other Sections.

After a week devoted to these preliminary arrangements, the meeting broke up, full of hope for the future. The unanimous conviction was, that an important step had been taken in the history of science. But the catalogue of marvels that would have to be recounted fifty years later as the result of that gathering was not then unfolded. Little did the most sanguine dream what strides science was about to take, for the most part, as the direct result of the impetus then given. The outside world, as is often the case at the birth of a great movement, took little note of their proceedings. The *Times*, then as now the foremost organ of the day, did not throw open its columns to reports of their doings, or eulogise in leading articles the nascent enterprise. The air was rife with the cry of Reform. Even the glories of the Royal coronation were speedily eclipsed by the effulgence of the coming political millennium. "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," was the burden of every prophet, the refrain of every song. We do not underrate the importance of the crisis, or the many advantages of the providential issue, benefit to science being one among the number. But in the quiet resolution with which the little band at York girded on their armour for a new campaign, destined to enlarge the liberties of the human mind, and to bring within its empire whole provinces then unknown to it, we see the promise of achievements worthy to rank with the foremost of those ascribed to that bloodless revolution.

The second meeting of the Association was held at Oxford, and the third at Cambridge. At the former the names of Airy, Brunel, and Babbage were added to the list of trustees, and those of Wheatstone, Faraday, Prout, and Acland to the committees of sections. At the latter, the number of members reached nine hundred. The meetings at the two university towns have always been held earlier in the year—in June instead of September—to enable all connected with the colleges to participate in them before "going down" for the long vacation. The ranks of the members and associates have thus been, for the time at least, increased, the largest numbers in actual attendance being those for Oxford in 1860, and the one next

following at Cambridge, which in each case exceeded three thousand. The subsequent relapse shows that many contented themselves with the temporary connection of associates, admitting them to all the sessions of the Association for any given year on payment of a guinea. Even this slight connection may have been of great advantage to those who have availed themselves of it, communicating at least a taste for science to those whose leisure did not permit them to follow the Association in its annual migrations. Some evil, on the other hand, may thus have arisen. The benches of the more popular sections have been occasionally occupied by a restless crowd possessed with the spirit of idle curiosity rather than of intelligent research; while the fan and the eye-glass have been busily plied to the distraction of the more serious part of the audience. Such, at least, has been the impression made on the minds of some, both by the demeanour of these assemblies themselves, and the remarks that have dropped from their presidents. And it is little to be wondered at that, occurring in the midst of the excitements of a closing session, and supervening upon the glories, for instance, of the Commemoration at Oxford, the meeting of the British Association should be regarded by the youthful portion of the community as affording only a somewhat more elevated form of the innocent pastime which for so many constitutes the main business of the place. But this remark has only a limited application. To familiarise the more wealthy and intelligent of our youth with the doings of science, and with the forms and features of its chief cultivators, must have been a public benefit. And the result has been seen both in the roll of eminent men, trained at the universities, whose devotion to science thus received its first impetus, and from the increased attention to it at the universities in these latter days.

The early connection of the Association with the universities incidentally brings out, if it does not itself directly testify to, the light in which its early promoters regarded the relations of science to religion. It was in no spirit of hostility to the Christianity of which they are the creation that the Association approached those venerable fanes. Again and again, from the presidential chair, has it been proclaimed in the hearing of all England that neither the professed end nor the actual issue of scientific research is to undermine the foundations of the faith. Sometimes,



indeed, there has been heard a jarring note, but this has been the general burden of the strain, whenever the speakers in question have risen from the details of scientific investigation to the contemplation of its bearing on the life and destinies of men. Nowhere was this chord struck with more clearness and force than at the first Oxford meeting. Dr. Buckland's own utterances are not indeed preserved. In fact, the task of delivering a formal address was not at first assigned to the occupant of the chair; that was the duty of the local secretary, or some official. But Viscount Milton, the first president, in resigning the chair to his successor, delivered a speech in which, among other statements as to the use and benefit of science, he avowed his belief that "the principal use of such knowledge and reasoning was to lead man to lift up his mind and heart to his Maker, to imbibe a deeper feeling of religious awe, and acquire a stronger sense of the reverence and duty which he owes to the power and beneficence of the Creator." Similar utterances are to be found scattered through the presidential addresses of later years. We will, however, only quote one, that which forms the peroration of the Prince Consort's noble address at Aberdeen in 1859. The following is his eloquent vindication of the position of men of science as almost naturally and necessarily also men of faith:

"Philosophers are not vain theorists, but essentially men of practice — not conceited pedants, wrapped up in their own mysterious importance, but humble inquirers after truth, proud only of what they have achieved or won for the general use of man; neither are they daring and presumptuous unbelievers—a character which ignorance has sometimes affixed to them—who would, like the Titans, storm heaven by placing mountain upon mountain, till hurled down from the height attained by the terrible thunders of outraged Jove; but rather the pious pilgrims to the Holy Land, who toil on in search of the sacred shrine, in search of truth—God's laws as manifested in His works, in His creation."

We must now endeavour to give our readers some account of the progress of science during the last half-century. The field is too vast, indeed, to be traversed within the limits of an article. All we can hope to do is to point out some of the chief grounds for the rejoicings of the Jubilee meeting. In order to keep within bounds, we shall confine ourselves in the main to the reports of its proceedings.

It would be interesting indeed to go over the whole range of the presidential addresses as delivered year by year. These present the subject for the most part in a form adapted to a mixed audience, and divested of the technicalities which for the general reader bar the paths of science like a quickset hedge.

The transactions of the sections also, and the summaries of papers on the topics belonging to them, which make up the body of the Annual Reports, we must pass by. They exhibit a mass of information and research of which it would be impossible to speak in terms of adequate eulogy. Here are enshrined the rich results of half a century of toil on the part of the acutest intelligences of the age. Though hardly of so elementary a nature as to constitute an easy introduction to science, and not systematically arranged after the manner of a hand-book, these records have an interest of their own. They trace the history of science in a way in which no hand-book can do it. Here we have the wonders of science in the forms in which they were first revealed, still bearing the image and superscription of their fortunate discoverers, whose names, appearing from time to time upon these pages, seem to resemble the figures of some gradually unfolding drama. We see the audience all attent to hear their story, suspense passing into animation and animation into applause, as the meaning of it comes to be apprehended. And we realise how marvels that have long become familiar first struck the minds of those best qualified to judge of them, when presented as novelties; and how the men whose brows have been encircled by immortal bays, with varying degrees of timidity or confidence first submitted for approval the work which was to make them famous. In short, we have here, to change the figure, a sort of itinerary of the scientific army, showing the paths it has pursued—now intricate and devious, then broad and open, here stoutly contested, and there permitting free progress—on its way to world-wide empire. Thus a sort of human interest gathers round the abstrusest speculations, and dry details of magnitude and number become instinct with life and meaning. Nor need this goodly array of facts and figures prove the tangled forest which at first it seems, to one determined to explore it. Let such an one come with but a smattering of the terminology of any science, and we will guarantee that, on the old principle, *vires acquirit*

*eundo*, his path will become easier as he proceeds; the thorny thickets will disappear, as if by magic, faster than he can lift up his axe upon them, the good genius that waits on perseverance lending unseen assistance, until all is daylight where all was dark. A clue to the labyrinth, or to a considerable portion of it, may be found in an Index published in 1862 by Professor Phillips, extending over the first thirty volumes, and showing the titles and authors of pages scattered through eighteen thousand printed pages. Whether a more recent Index has been prepared since then, we do not know; but the Jubilee year seems to furnish a fitting occasion for the completion of the work up to date. With such a guide, the reader may thread his way through the maze, and find the heterogeneous mass of materials reduced to something like order, and brought within the compass of an average mind.

Coming now to the Jubilee itself, we find that the question of its celebration was brought before the Sheffield meeting of 1879, when an invitation to the city of York was cordially and unanimously accepted. At the Swansea meeting in the following year, active steps were taken in preparation for the Jubilee, and local secretaries were appointed—the Rev. Thomas Adams, M.A., senior mathematical and science master at St. Peter's School, York, who is a nephew of the astronomer Adams, and Dr. Tempest Anderson, surgeon to the North-Eastern Railway Company and to the York Eye Infirmary—on whom the chief burden of responsibility devolved, and to whose efforts, seconded by those of the Corporation, the clergy and ministers of all denominations, and the railway magnates, many of whom reside in the town, the success of the celebration is largely due. The arrangements were remarkably complete and satisfactory. The reception room was the grand old chamber at the Guildhall, a venerable edifice erected in 1446, the same in which the sum of £200,000 was paid to the Scots for assisting the Parliament against Charles I. For the presidential address was set apart the great hall of the Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Institution, tastefully decorated for the occasion, and carpeted with crimson cloth. The Assembly Rooms and Festival Concert Room were prepared for the *Conversazione*, which forms so notable a feature of these annual gatherings. The meetings of the sections were held in rooms belonging to various public bodies, which

seemed to display a generous rivalry in their offers of suitable premises, such as the Corn Exchange, the Friends' Meeting House at Castlegate, the De Grey Rooms, the Victoria Hall, the Centenary Chapel (Wesleyan), and last, not least, the hall of the Yorkshire Philosophical Museum, the birthplace of the Association. One of the chief attractions was the loan collection of scientific apparatus, in which, by the painstaking industry of Dr. H. C. Gill, were brought together specimens of the earliest and latest patterns of philosophical instruments and of the tools employed in their construction, so as to exhibit to the eye the practical progress of the last half-century. Among the rest we may note the chief forms of telegraphic apparatus now in use throughout the country, such as the Wheatstone Automatic Machine, by which press telegrams are transmitted; the Duplex Sounder, for sending and receiving a message at the same time on the same wire; the Needle Instrument, principally used where there is but a small amount of traffic; the Bell-Gower Telephone, the Photo-Telephone, together with Mr. Francis Galton's interesting apparatus for producing an ideal picture of a human face by combining the photographs of several persons; Dr. Robert's Induction Balance, for detecting base coin; some novel physiological apparatus by Mr. William North; and a series of microscopes. The experiment was also successfully tried of lighting the principal streets of the city by means of the Brush apparatus, which yields a brilliancy of 2,000 candle-power from carbons lasting sixteen hours, and costing for carbons only three farthings per hour, an amount which would have been expended a little while ago in the consumption of the same number of farthing rush-lights. From two of these machines fifty-six lights of the power indicated above distributed throughout the city were supplied at a total cost of less than twopence per hour per light.

Arrangements were also made for the location at moderate charges of between two and three thousand visitors in the city of York and neighbouring towns, for visits to the principal manufacturing establishments of the vicinity, and for excursions on a large scale to the principal places of note to be found in the county of Yorkshire. These last were occasions of great interest. At Middlesborough, itself the creation of modern enterprise, the docks of the North-Eastern Railway were inspected by a party of fifty, all the

ships being decked with flags in honour of the visit, and some of the triumphs of modern mechanical skill were witnessed. A truck weighing six tons and containing ten tons of coal was hoisted forty feet, and returned to the ground in five minutes. The works lining the banks of the Tees; the river-wall, reclaiming hundreds of acres; the dredging operations, deepening the bed of the river so as to allow the largest vessels to reach the town; the splendid breakwater in course of erection, the southern part two miles and a half long, and costing over a quarter of a million of money, the northern part more than a mile in length, and costing a proportionate sum; all these were objects of great interest to the party, most of them being viewed as they passed down the river on a powerful steam-tug provided by the railway company. Proceeding by sea to Scarborough, opportunity was taken by a member of the Geological Survey to explain to the party the special features of the district as they presented themselves to observation. At Scarborough the visitors joined a second party who had come by train, and who had had the privilege of listening to a series of addresses *sub dio* by Professor Williamson on the geological formations of the neighbourhood, which are of such a character as to be styled the most classical ground of all Yorkshire geology. Similar excursions were made to places of antiquarian and historical interest, such as Aldborough, nineteen miles from York, the Roman Isurium, with those wonderful tessellated pavements which have won for it the title of the British Pompeii; Bolton Abbey, built for Augustinian canons in the twelfth century, and famous both for its picturesque ruins and for the traditional story, immortalised by Wordsworth, of the White Doe of Rylstone; Wensleydale, with its charming scenery, and its attractions for the botanist and geologist, varied by a practical demonstration of the processes of lead-mining; and Whitby, with its famous Abbey boasting an existence of twelve centuries.

The above were, however, but external and subsidiary attractions, to which we have called attention as bearing witness to the thoroughness with which the arrangements were carried out, surpassing all that had been attempted on former occasions. The weather alone was, for the most part, stubbornly unpropitious, and here science in the person of its most loyal adherents had to confess itself beaten. Had it been possible, there is little doubt, such

was the enthusiasm of the various officers, that conductors would have been provided to withdraw to a safe distance from the archiepiscopal city every gathering storm and lowering cloud. But the engagements of those employed in rifling the secrets of nature were absorbing enough to compensate for the unfriendly aspect she presented to the world without. Chief among these must be named the address from the chair, delivered by the President, Sir John Lubbock, on the evening of Wednesday, the 31st of August, before a brilliant assemblage. Not a seat was vacant in the body of the hall or in the galleries when, shortly after eight o'clock, Professor Ramsay, the President of the previous year, rose from his seat and in graceful words resigned the chair to his successor.

The address that followed was a masterpiece of condensed analysis and picturesque description. Starting with his own favourite Section, that of Biology, the President summed up the results of scientific research, in the form both of facts and of the hypotheses invented to explain them, as it regards the whole history of animal and vegetable life; plunged boldly into the vexed question of the antiquity of man, assigning him a place among the mammalia, now extinct, of the Second Stone Age, known as the Palæolithic; sketched briefly the progress of geology from the publication of Lyell's work upon the subject, which coincided in date with the birth of the Association; thence proceeded to trace the fortunes of palæontology, which has vastly increased its catalogue of extinct species, besides carrying back their existence to an almost undefinable antiquity; from the records of living creatures passed on to the history of the globe that has given birth to them, describing the formation of lakes, volcanoes, glaciers, coral reefs, and ocean mud; then, taking a higher flight, recounted the wonders of astronomy, the discovery of the planet Neptune, the increase of the known asteroids from four to two hundred and twenty, together with the further enrichment of the solar system by the discovery of an inner ring to Saturn, of satellites to Mars, and of additional satellites to Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, not forgetting the new field for inquiry extending to the most distant regions of space opened up by the new method of spectrum analysis. Having discussed some of the results brought to light by the employment of this method, such as the existence in the sun and fixed stars of metals identical with those upon our



own planet, together with all the inferences which such a fact gives rise to, the speaker passed by an easy transition to the consideration of the nature of light, claiming, not indeed the establishment of the undulatory theory as opposed to that of emission, but its final settlement by Foucault's experiments in 1850, as falling within the period under review. The reduction of the primary colours from seven to three, red, green, and violet,—green not being properly a composite of blue and yellow, as frequently supposed from the effect of the mere mixing of paints; the explanation of the ordinary blue of the sky and of the crimson and gold hues of sunrise and sunset, as due rather to the reflection of the corresponding rays from minute particles floating in the air than to the colour of the air itself; the triumphs of photography; the relations of light and heat, and of heat and motion, including the discovery of the mechanical equivalent of heat by Mayer on the Continent and Joule at Manchester, and also by Hirn, who added confirmation by solving the converse problem; the continuity of the gaseous, liquid and solid states demonstrated by Andrews in 1862, and recently confirmed by the liquefaction and solidification of hydrogen, thus exploding the notion of permanent gases; the mystery of atoms, at present defying the efforts of science to bring them in their individuality under actual observation; all these were touched with great felicity, and a luminousness befitting the nature of the subject. The close connection of light with electricity, carried by Clerk Maxwell to the point of an absolute identification, naturally suggested the next topic. Electricity in the year 1831 may be considered to have presented a wonderful example of theory laying broad and deep foundations on which practice might afterwards rear a glorious superstructure. In that year Faraday, the prince of pure experimentalists, announced his discoveries of voltaic induction and magneto-electricity, thus completing the work of Oersted, Ampère, and others, and establishing the principles on which the whole fabric of modern telegraphy rests. A rapid *coup d'œil* was cast over the practical applications of this science, from the first telegraph line employed on the Great Western Railway in 1838 to the world-embracing network of our present system of communication, and thence to the problems of the storage of electrical energy, the solution of which seems to promise an incalculable addition to the resources of mankind.

The observation of the President as to the state of preparedness of the theory of electricity for the practical developments that were to follow, might have been extended to the next department on which he chose to comment, whose foundations are deeper even than those just mentioned, underlying as they do all physical science, and yet themselves independent of the physical; we mean the realm of pure mathematics. For had not Herschel, Babbage, and Peacock recently \* introduced the new method of analysis first announced by Leibnitz, and subsequently perfected by Laplace, Legendre, Lagrange, and others? And without this improvement on Sir Isaac Newton's more tedious method of fluxions, is it likely that the progress of science would have been so rapid as it afterwards became? At this point, however, with a candour and modesty as becoming as the fulness of knowledge he displayed in all other branches, the President acknowledged his dependence on others for information as to the extent to which science is indebted to the abstruser parts of mathematics, and touching lightly on a subject, the fuller treatment of which, however interesting to those within "the enchanted circle," would have wearied with its technicalities even the distinguished audience before him, he next announced the grand generalisation of modern science, which may be said to occupy in the nineteenth century the place that Newton's grand discovery held in the seventeenth, although not to be so closely connected with any one name, but ascribed to the joint action of many minds, such as Séguin and Helmholtz on the Continent, and Grove and Thomson in this country,—the law namely of the conservation of energy, which was thus formulated:—"That every kind of change among bodies may be expressed numerically in one standard unit of change, viz., *work done*, in such wise that the result of the passage of any system from one condition to another may be calculated by mere additions and subtractions, even when we do not know how the change came about."

The next topic dealt with by Sir John Lubbock was Chemistry. To some it may seem as if it should have been introduced before, seeing that many topics had been discussed, such as spectrum analysis, the three states of matter, &c., which can only be understood by the help of

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\* In the year 1815.

this science. But this would only be an objection to those who forget the mutual interdependence of all the sciences, and the impossibility of a successive presentation of truths and facts whose counterparts in nature exist in all sorts of simultaneous as well as successive combination. The President's course was as direct as it could well be, from individual and complex beings, together with the vast theatre on which they play their parts, on to the general forces at work among them and the general laws under which those forces act. The highest generalisation in the region of quantity and number having been reached in the law just referred to, the President proceeded to the highest generalisation in a different region, not quite so abstract as the former, but yet bringing us face to face with ultimate facts of material subsistence, as the former does with its ultimate rules of operation. The physical constitution of matter, its "molecular architecture," as Sir John Lubbock phrases it, forms the province of chemistry. And here strange wonders are revealed. Not only are the simple elements of the globe now counted, weighed and sorted, the discovery of five being due to spectrum analysis, their strongest combinations made to yield to the perseverance and skill of the experimenter, their varying influence measured on all that eye can see or ear can hear, but the process of simplification has been carried to the point of actually breaking down the supposed impassable barriers between the organic and inorganic, so that substances which were once thought producible only by the living forces of animals and plants are now concocted out of their primitive elements by the chemist in his laboratory; and everything in the living frame of vegetable or animal, except the life itself, is demonstrably derived from the dust on which we tread. Not only have the properties of all known bodies been duly classified, but the necessary properties of bodies as yet unknown are in some instances calculated, and the formulæ that express them are docketed and pigeon-holed, awaiting the appearance in this or some other part of the universe of those unknown bodies to vindicate the accuracy of the prediction.

In Mechanical Science, the President addressed himself to the question, or a part of it, of the *cui bono* of science, and found an ample answer. Beginning with the introduction by Neilson in 1880 of the hot-air blast in the smelting of iron, which led to a vast increase in the temperature

employed, now attaining a maximum of 1,400 degrees Fahrenheit, he passed on to the Bessemer process for converting pig-iron at once into steel, and Nasmyth's steam-hammer, by the joint aid of which steel can now be produced as cheaply as iron formerly was; and then briefly summed up the chief results of engineering science in two most important departments, viz., a mileage in this country alone of 200,000 for railways, costing nearly four thousand millions sterling, and a tonnage for British shipping of eight and a half millions as against eight millions two hundred thousand possessed by all the rest of the world.

The other half of "the reason why," furnished by Economic Science, had to be despatched briefly. Not for want of sympathy or information, for as a banker by profession, and as member of Parliament for the University of London, who has both written and spoken on topics connected with our home and foreign policy, he is known to be as well versed in political economy as in the habits of ants. But the attention of the audience, long strained to the utmost by the moving panorama of the wonders of science, was beginning to flag; and so with a few hints as to the desirableness of a larger infusion of science into the curriculum of our schools than he had enjoyed in his own youth, a timely word or two on agricultural changes, and a brief peroration on general results and anticipations, the President brought to a close a fifty years' review of the progress of science which, for the magnitude and importance of the achievements it chronicles, could have been paralleled at no other period in the history of the world.

We are little disposed to criticise this noble deliverance, but before passing away from it we may mention one or two points to which we cannot but demur. The first has reference to the hypothesis of evolution. We doubt the wisdom of classing this hypothesis among the established results of science, and especially of putting it in the very forefront of the goodly array of its triumphs. It is well known that the evidence for the doctrine in its extreme form is slender, that hardly any two of its advocates agree in their views concerning it, and that by a large section of the public its tendencies are regarded, rightly or wrongly, as subversive of faith in the Christian Revelation. Sir John Lubbock's own mind is no doubt made up on the subject, and he has no difficulty in harmonising his re-

ligious with his scientific creed. But we think this was an occasion on which it might have been better to defer to what we will call the prejudices of the many than to assert the opinions of a few. There should be no clashing of arms, no suggestion even of battle, at a Jubilee. Even if all present were as fully convinced as the speaker, some consideration should have been extended to the world outside. All had an interest in the occasion, though all were not privileged to participate in its festivities. All waited with eagerness to hear the story that the President had to tell: what need was there to preface the history of accomplished facts and demonstrated truths with the brilliant romancings of the scientific imagination? Even were there no danger of an air of unreality being thereby thrown over the more solid parts of the structure, there was enough in these to present an imposing spectacle before the eyes of the public. Complete the edifice could not be said to be, and, even if it could, the obnoxious doctrine would, in the judgment of many, serve but poorly as a topstone wherewith to crown it. For these reasons, and quite independently of the question of the preponderance of probabilities, we think this topic might have been left to the disputants who still delight to sharpen one another's wits by its discussion. The subject is one of profound significance, but *adhuc sub judice lis est*: that is to say, the last word has not been spoken. The dogmatism of religion has often been criticised: if the criticism be just, it ought never to be necessary to retort it upon science.

There is another matter that we cannot but advert to. We have noted in the course of this paper the attitude of the early promoters of the British Association toward Christianity. Their language as to the relations of science and religion was marked by manly simplicity and straightforwardness, as well as by reverence and humility. Of late years the signs of this spirit have not been so apparent; and, though there is not the slightest indication of any hostility to Christianity, the absence of such signs is conspicuous in the address before us. This may be accounted for, nay, ought to be accounted for, without casting any slur upon the religious beliefs and convictions of individuals. There is an indefinable something in the feelings of men to-day which, while admitting the liveliest interest in general questions of a religious nature, seems to reckon anything approaching to a public and personal

profession of faith a sort of offence against good taste, if not good breeding.

We cannot stay to discuss the nature of the objection, or to consider whether the admission of it means a raising or a lowering of the social standard. It may be that it is only due to the greater complexity of modern life, or to the greater acerbity of religious differences: it may indicate no relaxation in the hold of revealed truth upon the minds of men, much less any weakening of the force of moral principle. But the existence of this tendency to spiritual self-suppression is undeniable; and while it has its rights, it has, to say the least, its inconveniences. They confront us in connection with this Jubilee. One of the great dangers of the age, so it appears to many, is the growing tendency to a secularisation of our national life. Between the conflicting claims of individual freedom and of social and national responsibility, the public mind seems to be held in painful suspense, and the problem how to reconcile them is difficult of solution. It meets us everywhere, in our schools as well as our church establishments, in the senate as well as in the workhouse and prison. It meets us, we scarcely need add, in this latest gathering of the representatives of science. Here were two thousand men and women, met to discuss topics that affect, not the mere externalities of life, but some of its most vital processes and functions; instituting inquiries into the origin and destiny of the globe, into the origin if not the destiny of the race that inhabits it; prying into the mysteries of matter, and, despite their professed abjuration, into the still deeper mysteries of the mind that occupies itself about them; influencing education, tabulating crime; and in a thousand ways manifesting their devotion to the good of mankind. What was there to set the moral and spiritual norm to this Assembly? Or will it be said that, being met to discuss science, they did not need any? A standard of some sort, we know, each man had for himself: we know, moreover, whence that of the majority had been derived. But why, if they acknowledge it to themselves, should they not acknowledge it to one another? Why should not some provision be made for their doing so? It will be said, no doubt, that the Sabbath rest intervened between their days of labour, when churches and chapels were crowded with the city's welcome guests. This we own, and right joyfully do we recognise the genuine



ring of many of the utterances to which they listened. But in their corporate capacity, save the brief hour of preliminary worship held in a church schoolroom, there was no recognition of a Divine Being, no acknowledgment of the wisdom and power displayed in the creation whose most secret recesses they were exploring, nor of the Providence by whose gift their labours were rewarded with success. All this, we say, was conspicuous by its absence, and it may be that it is justified by the spirit of the age. But we do not see why this reticence should pervade every portion of the President's address, why there should not at least have been some disclaimer against the sceptical inferences to which it laid itself open.

It may be said the silence of the address on such topics would not warrant the inferences to which we have referred. But the attitude was not one of pure negation. The absence of such a standard as we have described presents a gap that cannot be left unfilled. This Sir John Lubbock evidently felt, and proceeded to supply the vacancy by the introduction of another. "It is not, I think, now going too far to say that the true test of the civilisation of a nation must be measured by its progress in science." Observe the general and unqualified character of the statement,—*"the true test of the civilisation of a nation."* Here at least some word might have been spoken of a subordination of all aims to the highest. But no. The test, the sole test, the all-sufficient test, so we are left to imagine, is *"progress in science."* The only faith Sir John Lubbock announces is faith in the expansibility of science. His best wishes for the future culminate in the presentation by his successor, fifty years to come, of *"a series of discoveries even more unexpected and more brilliant than those"* he has to record himself. And this in the year which has seen two of the mightiest peoples on the face of the earth deprived of their heads by the hands of assassins, who could not have done what they did but by a skilful use, a perverted one it is true, but still an use, of the means which science had placed in their hands.

While we have thought it right to make these criticisms, we are bound to add they are offered in no unfriendly spirit, either to the Association itself or to its noble President. In him the Association possesses, if not the *"whole man"* that at an earlier period of its history was described as a desideratum to be waited for rather than immediately

supplied, yet one who perhaps comes as near as any to the ideal which the very growth of science has made more than ever unattainable.

Passing away now from the inaugural address, we come to those delivered by the Presidents of sections, without some notice of which any account of the Jubilee meeting would be very imperfect. Since these addresses of necessity deal with the same subjects which have been already passed in review, it might be thought a needless task to sketch, even in outline, the course of them. But this is far from being the case. It is quite possible for many to traverse a vast plain without pursuing one beaten track, and indeed without doing more than occasionally cross each other's lines. And so it is here. Each traveller has his own starting-point and follows his own course, and the paths seldom approximate, though all trend in the same general direction. Here and there a subject dismissed by the President in a sentence becomes the text for a whole discourse, or a gap which he himself indicated is appropriately filled. But there is great variety both of topic and treatment, the general tendency being less to historical survey than to scientific exposition, even as the place and the time demanded less of panoramic effect and more of detailed completeness. The addresses were delivered mostly on Thursday, September the 1st.

In Section A., Sir W. Thomson discoursed on the sources of energy in nature available to man for the production of mechanical effect. Summarising the natural sources of energy, as the tides, food, fuel, wind, and rain, he said that of all these there is only one not derived from sun-heat, viz., the first. The utilisation of tidal energy he dismissed as impracticable, owing to the cost of dock construction. Even in the few places where it would be possible to build a sea-wall across the mouth of a natural basin or estuary, it would be more economical to shut the sea out altogether, and make fertile land of the whole basin. Turning to the sources of energy derived from sun-heat, he lamented first the decadence of wind-power, and intimated the importance, nay, the necessity of its revival, especially in view of the exhaustion of the coal-measures, which is sure to proceed at an increasingly rapid rate, until coal ceases to become a marketable commodity. By the aid of the new storage-power of electricity, the continuity hitherto lacking in wind-power might be secured. Cheap windmills were

therefore to be regarded as a desideratum of the future. Water-power was next considered. While its immediate action must always be confined to hilly districts, or places where a natural fall is provided, as in waterfalls, the splendid suggestion of Mr. Siemens, as to the electrical transmission of such power to any required distance, opened a great future to this form of available energy. Even the difficulty of the minute subdivision of such energy for practical purposes, which had long operated as a barrier to its introduction, was now being overcome by Faure's invention.

Disregarding for the moment the order of the alphabet, we turn to Mechanical Science, which, as we have seen, was, by the Meeting of 1839, constituted a distinct province of inquiry, under the name of Section G. The opening address was delivered by Sir W. Armstrong, and was of such a character as to demonstrate clearly the kinship of the Section with that from which it sprung. Indeed, on this occasion, the addresses in these two Sections were so similar in texture that either might have been delivered in place of the other. The ostensibly theoretical one was intensely practical, and the ostensibly practical one profoundly theoretical. Yet—and this confirms an observation we just now threw out—though the topics are nearly identical, the treatment is so different as to give the impression that we are going over new ground—a testimony alike to the varied scenery we traverse and to the distinct individuality of the minds which describe it.

The steam-engine is Sir William's starting-point, but his aim is the same, to discover new forms of energy or more economical uses of old ones. The wastefulness of the steam-engine he denounces as monstrous, and after showing from whence it arises, he points out that "unless a method can be devised of burning the fuel inside instead of outside the apparatus, so as to use the heated gases conjointly with the steam as a working medium in the engine, a remedy appears to be hopeless." Already we practise internal combustion in the gas-engine and in the gun. The mention of the last-named machine, with which Sir William's own name is so intimately associated, suggested an observation which provoked some merriment, viz., that though a pound of coal as used in the steam-engine produced a dynamic effect five times greater than a pound of gunpowder in the practice of gunnery, yet he

did not advocate the substitution of steam for gunpowder in the latter. The wastefulness of the engine thus condemning it, on grounds distinct from the failure of supply, the claims of electricity as a substitute were next canvassed, not without some animadversion on the exaggerated popular estimate of its efficiency. The differences between heat and electricity in their modes of mechanical action were then clearly indicated; and the alternate attraction and repulsion of the latter shown to promise far greater economy than is possible with the expansion of volume which attends the action of the former. If, therefore, we could produce electricity as easily as we can produce heat, the gain would be enormous; but this, as yet at least, we cannot do. Instead of beginning with electricity to produce power, we begin with power to produce electricity. How to obtain electricity, then, seems to be the problem that lies immediately before us. For the purpose of discussing this, Sir William Armstrong enumerated the sources of energy mentioned above, only adding to Sir W. Thomson's catalogue chemical attraction or affinity. Can electricity be derived from this last, as heat now is? Directly, he thinks not; but mediately, through heat, he believes it may. This brings us face to face with the thermo-electric engine, and points to a time when the latter "may not only be used as an auxiliary, but in complete substitution of the steam-engine." The sun's heat was next touched upon, and the want of efficient apparatus for its conversion into electricity shown to be the only hindrance to the availableness of that enormous force, capable in the tropics of melting annually a layer of ice eighty-five feet thick, and consequently of exerting on every acre of soil exposed to its rays the amazing power of four thousand horses for nearly nine hours per diem. The possibilities of the future were thus seen to be boundless. And as Sir William Thomson had wound up with the prospect of science working on the grand scale, and wielding for our good the forces of Niagara, so Sir W. Armstrong depicted her as condescending to serve even our petty individual requirements by securing to us the use of an electric bicycle or tricycle exempt from the labour of propulsion.

Two remarks we must make before passing on. One is that in his assertion of the identity both of heat and electricity with motion, Sir William need not have con-

trusted "the demonstrations of science" with "the fallacious evidence of our senses." Our senses, rightly used, do not deceive us, any more than our reason. The old idea of "heat being a separate entity," was as much an inference of the mind as the more recent and more enlightened opinion. The senses never exhibited to us anything but a heated substance, however we may have misinterpreted their presentments. Nevertheless, the observation is valuable, as showing how in physical science we cannot stop at sense manifestations, which must be not only individual but irrational, *i.e.*, devoid of intelligence, but are compelled to rest for their explanation on the higher processes of the understanding.

Sir William made some striking observations on the wastefulness of man's operations as compared with those of nature. "We reject our steam as useless at a temperature that would cook the animal substance, while nature works with a heat so mild as not to hurt the most delicate tissue. And yet notwithstanding the greater availability of high-grade temperature, the quantity of work performed by the living engine relatively to the coal consumed puts the steam-engine to shame." And he winds up his address with the hope that future research will be directed to the elucidation of a branch of science not yet named, but which he provisionally styles, "Animal Energies."

Returning now to the alphabetical order, we come to Section B. The inaugural address, by Professor A. W. Williamson, discussed "the growth of the Atomic Theory." Some wise preliminary observations were made as to the necessity, in all the inductive sciences, for cautious procedure in respect of tentative generalisation. "Materials for a new theory are gained when logically faultless reasoning, checked by accurate observations, has led to results which could not have been foreseen by the aid of any previous theory." According to the Professor, the caution he recommends has been exercised in the present case. "As far as I know them, the general theories which have played the chief part in the development of chemistry are mere condensed statements of fact." Then follow words valuable alike for the warning and the encouragement they contain. "It is to be hoped that the time may be far distant when men of science will confine their thoughts within the range of ideas which are proved to be true. But it is most important that they should not confuse such hypo-

thetical speculations with theories which have received experimental verification, and that, while employing any theory, they should not lose sight of the limits within which it has been proved to be correct, and beyond which it can only be used as an hypothesis." This is sound teaching. Hypothesise men must, if they are to philosophise at all: only let them take care not to dogmatise, until their hypothesis has proved itself to be the only explanation of all the facts. This is the true philosophic temper, which only those know how hard it is to maintain who have spent years of time and perhaps a mint of money in testing some favourite opinion that facts have at last refused to accredit. This was the calm equanimity which caused Sir Isaac Newton to lay aside for some years all thought of his newly suggested law of gravitation, and which gave rise to his much misunderstood maxim, "*Hypotheses non fingo*." Not the most eagle-eyed poet has greater need of the imagination than the scientist: not the most responsible statesman or judge has greater need to keep his imagination under due restraint.

Proceeding to his subject, the Professor showed that while chemical science treats of those changes of property in matter due to changes of combination in elementary atoms, of the nature of those atoms it knows nothing. The time has not yet come, though it does not follow that it never will come, for speculation respecting their ultimate form and structure. Present theories are confined to the best modes of representing their mutual action, supposing them to exist. The dualistic theory of the constitution of salts explains a great many phenomena; but when applied to compounds not saline, it breaks down. Another difficulty, foreseen by the founder of the dualistic system, is, that certain compounds of carbon present characteristics whose analysis does not agree with any simple proportion between the numbers of their constituent atoms. Hence other methods than that of the so-called law of multiple proportion have become necessary for the determination of molecular weights. "It was necessary to study the various properties of compounds of known composition, and of others which could be prepared in a state of purity; to determine the vapour densities and rates of diffusion of those which could be obtained in the gaseous state without decomposition; to determine boiling points and melting points; to examine crystalline forms of pure compounds



and of mixtures; to determine solubilities and densities of solids and of liquids; but above all, it was necessary to collect fuller and more accurate knowledge of the chemical changes which take place in the mutual reaction of molecules."

It is plain then that, though an immense amount of admirable work has been done of late years, especially in Germany, the work of the chemist still lies before him. Part of his work hitherto has consisted, as in other departments, in undoing that of his predecessors, or at least in seeking yet deeper and broader foundations for his science than their resources enabled them to lay. The old Daltonian atoms would seem to have undergone strange metamorphoses, though they have not quite shared the fate of those weird old phantoms, phlogiston and caloric, which in turn usurped the sovereignty in the realm of heat. When formulæ of indisputable correctness and universal application have been established, then will come the time for the grand battle over the nature of atoms themselves. When that era has arrived, we shall be glad of the solution, or at least the investigation, of a private puzzle of our own, one that has often baffled us, and that we have never seen anything to explain, viz., What is the real meaning of contact? If the densest bodies must be supposed porous, to enable us to understand how they can be pervious to the influence of the universally diffused ether, and that the ultimate atoms composing any body exert their mutual influence across intervening spaces, however small, how can it be proved that they ever touch? If there be such interstices in the densest body, can they or can they not be filled up? Are ultimate atoms of some regular form, such as cubes, which admit of being packed together in such a way as really to fill space? If so, should we then have reached the limits of compressibility? Would the ether be excluded? Should we have reached an arrangement of atoms insusceptible, through this close packing, of the molecular motion which is said to constitute heat, light, sound, and electricity? Suppose, on the other hand, the atoms decline such close companionship, what is it that, while keeping them so near, still keeps them so far apart? Is it one principle, or two; two separate principles for attraction and repulsion, or one common principle that combines the functions of both? And still further, if the atoms are endowed with a constitution so peculiar that

they can neither touch nor be touched, and that all we can ever know of them is that they exert force across definite though inappreciable distances, what proof is there that they exist at all? Why not give up the reality of matter, and settle down under the dominion of the conception of force, already known to the world under the title of Boscovitch's points? This would not land us in the idealism of Berkeley, since the reality of force, as distinct from us who perceive it, would have to be admitted. But it would bring us face to face with the question whether force thus separated from its supposed material depository is not to be referred to the immediate action of God. Creation would then mean the self-limitation in time of energies which have existed from eternity, and the gulf between matter and mind would be bridged over, the difficulty of conceiving how the former could be created by the latter, how the two could be connected, contrasted, and made to act upon each other in the way they seem to do, would be overcome. But all this is only speculation, not to be entered upon till the other questions referred to have been settled. The possibility of broaching it for a moment only shows how closely the domain of the physicist approximates to that of the mental philosopher, if not of the divine; and how certain it is that when their utmost efforts have been exhausted on the worlds they respectively traverse, there will still remain inexplicable mysteries, the secret things of Him whose ways are past finding out.

In Section C. the address was delivered by Professor Ramsay. The different conditions under which, as compared with the previous Section, the labours of this and the next two must perforce be carried on, impress us strongly as we pass from our last topic. It is like passing from the infinitely little to the infinitely great. Time and space spread out before us on every side in all their vast proportions, and are everywhere occupied by works of such magnificence and activities of such duration that imagination sinks overpowered at the spectacle. The chemist shuts himself up in his laboratory, and is satisfied if you will but furnish him with minute quantities of his sixty-four elements: the geologist and the palæontologist take the whole globe for their starting-point and its whole history, since the first condensation of the primitive fire-mist, for their field of observation. The last word suggests, however, another difference, imposing some bounds to

their researches. There is a science of observation, not, except within very narrow limits, a science of experiment, save as they may call in their chemical collaborators to help them. So much the more need have they of caution.

There was nothing to complain of on this score in Professor Ramsay's address, which neither broached new theories nor contested old ones, but was mainly occupied with an historical sketch of work done. One sentence may be said to summarise the whole, but how much must have been done in the way of persistent and unflagging toil before such a sentence could be uttered! "With great and conscientious labour many men, gifted with a knowledge of stratigraphical and palæontological geology, have, so to speak, more or less dissected all the regions of Europe and great part of North America, India, and of our colonies; and in vast areas, sometimes nearly adjoining, and sometimes far distant from each other, the various formations, by help of the fossils they contain, have been correlated in time, often in spite of great differences in their lithological character." The relation of geological theory to cosmological speculation, with reference especially to the consolidation of the crust of the earth, Professor Ramsay did not enter upon, though confessing it to be a tempting topic. We should like to have heard how the subject would have fared in the hands of such a master, particularly as considerable discrepancy exists between the period allowed for the cooling of the earth, and the vast cycles demanded by some scientists for the gradual evolution of the state of things as we now witness it. Of such discrepancy, however, Professor Ramsay took little note, nor of the changes in the views of the uniformitarians which Sir W. Thomson's statements have necessitated. The only modification of former theory to which he adverted had reference to the old division of igneous rocks into Volcanic and Plutonic, volcanic agency being now known to be much more widely distributed through the strata than was at one time suspected. With the future of geology it was, the Professor said, difficult to deal. In this country the work of geological surveying was nearly complete, but much remained to be done abroad; while palæontologists would have ample work in the discovery of new fossils, and both they and geologists in the physical problems that yet remain to be solved.

The inaugural address in Section D. was delivered by

Professor Owen. Here the programme was a considerable variation upon that followed elsewhere, yet was not without interest as dealing with one branch, and by no means an unimportant one, of the Society's labours, which we have not yet mentioned. We mean its steady and untiring efforts to press the claims of science upon the attention of the British Government, and to procure such aids from the national resources as the importance of science demands. It would be endless to illustrate the importance to the Government, as representing the interests of the nation, of the due cultivation of science. Let one example stand for many,—the benefits that have flowed to this maritime country from the creation, five-and-twenty years ago, of a special meteorological department of the Board of Trade under the management of Admiral Fitzroy. How much of life and property has been saved to the country through this one arrangement, brought about through the representations of such men as Lord Wrottesley and others connected with the British Association! Or, to take one more example, the supply by the Kew Observatory of accurate barometers and thermometers to the number of many hundreds annually, those supplied by commerce being untrustworthy to a remarkable degree. Where would our navy and our mercantile marine be without such assistance freely rendered from an institution which was long an anxious burden to this Society?

The particular phase of this subject on which Professor Owen dwelt was the erection, at the cost of the State, of a new branch of the British Museum, in Cromwell Road, to be devoted to Natural History. As his address is mainly occupied with the details of the parliamentary struggle for the accomplishment of this object, we need not detain the reader with them.

The gap thus created we may however fill with some account of Professor Flower's address in the sub-section of Anthropology, which falls under Section D. The Professor, after adverting to the loss sustained by the death of Professor Rolleston, lamented the comparative indifference of the public, scientific and otherwise, to the subject under review, referring for proof to the fact of the same contemptuous epithet of "nigger" being applied by the Englishman abroad to the blacks of the West Coast of Africa, the Kaffirs of Natal, the Lascars of Bombay, the Hindoos of Calcutta, the aborigines of Australia, and

even the Maoris of New Zealand. "But how is he to know better? Where in this country is any instruction to be had? Where are the books to which he may turn for trustworthy information? In not a single university or public institution throughout the three kingdoms is there any kind of systematic teaching either of physical or any other branch of anthropology, except so far as comparative philology may be considered as bearing upon the subject." And worse is still behind: "The one society of which it is the special business to promote the study of these questions, the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is, I regret to say, far from flourishing." With respect to the latter grievance, we may ask, Is it possible that this want of support is due rather to prejudice than indifference? Has there not been some suspicion that the society in question had committed itself to certain foregone conclusions in some degree unpalatable to the public taste? How else can we account for its neglect by a public which yet supports thousands of agents whose business it is, not to collect information merely respecting the races alluded to, but to seek their amelioration by all the means in their power, their education, their civilisation, in one word, their Christianisation? In answering this second point, we have virtually answered the first, for while it may be true that some Englishmen abroad apply the contemptuous epithet in the way denoted, the section of the public we have in view are too deeply interested in their practical work among these races to speak of them in any tone but that of sympathy in their needs, and congratulation on their admission through Christianity to the commonwealth of civilised nations. Further comment on the work of this department—important as it undoubtedly is—is rendered needless by the statement of Professor Flower that "of trained and experienced men who take up the subject seriously and devote themselves to it continuously, we have not one."

In the Geographical Section, Sir J. D. Hooker opened the proceedings by reading a paper on the geographical distribution of organic life throughout the globe. The whole address is replete with interest, but we can only quote some introductory sentences, in which are briefly summed up the results of recent advances in geographical knowledge generally.

"In topography the knowledge obtained during this half-

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century has been unprecedentedly great. The veil has been withdrawn from the sources of the Nile, and the lake systems of Central Africa have been approximately localised and outlined. Australia, never previously traversed, has been crossed and re-crossed in various directions. New Guinea has had its coast surveyed, and its previously utterly unknown interior has been here and there visited. The topography of Western China and Central Asia, a sealed book since the days of Marco Polo, has been explored in many quarters. The elevations of the highest mountains of both hemispheres have been accurately determined, and themselves ascended to heights never before attained; and the upper regions of the air have been ballooned to the extreme limit beyond which the life-sustaining organs of the human frame can no longer perform their functions. In hydrography, the depths of the great oceans have been sounded, their shores mapped, and their physical and natural history explored from the equator to beyond both polar circles.

"In the Arctic regions, the highest hitherto attained latitude has been reached; Greenland has been proved to be an island; and an archipelago has been discovered nearer to the Pole than any other land. In the Antarctic regions a new continent has been added to our maps, crowned with one of the loftiest known active volcanoes, and the Antarctic Ocean has been twice traversed to the 79th parallel. Nor have some of the negative results of modern exploration been less important, for the Mountains of the Moon have been expunged from our maps, and there are no longer believers in the inland sea of Australia, or in the open ocean of the Arctic Pole."

It would be unpardonable not to quote a sentence or two more, having reference to one of the most difficult investigations which the Association ever undertook, and to which its attention has from the first been steadily directed.

"Such is terrestrial magnetism, which had as its first investigators two of our earliest voyagers, the ill-fated Hudson and Halley, who determined the magnetic dip in the North Polar and Tropical regions respectively. Theirs were the precursors of a long series of scientific expeditions, during which the dipping needle was carried from Pole to Pole, and which culminated in the establishment, mainly under the auspices of this Association, of the magnetic survey of Great Britain, of fixed magnetic observatories in all quarters of the globe, and of the Antarctic expedition of Sir James Ross, who, since the foundation of the Association, planted the dipping needle over the northern magnetic pole, and carried it within two hundred miles of the southern one."

The address did not include any reference to the geo-



graphical work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, but the subject was discussed afterwards in the Section in connection with a paper drawn up by Mr. Trelawney Saunders. Regret was expressed by several speakers at the difficulties thrown in the way of the expedition by those whose interest it is to forward its operations.

The address in Section F. was delivered on Friday, September 2nd, by Mr. Grant Duff, whose recent appointment as Governor of Madras gave an unwonted interest to the occasion, and attracted a large company. It was occupied with a history of the Section generally, as represented by the addresses of previous presidents, rather than with any detailed account of work done. We feel somewhat surprised that some notice was not taken of the progress of sanitary science, which, though now considered as belonging more properly to the Social Science Association, nevertheless owes much to the British Association. The results of the labours of the Sanitary Commission in the Crimea and of Florence Nightingale's services would have been well worth a passing reference. A happy expression quoted from the address of Professor Thorold Rogers in 1866, is too good to be lost. "The economist is constantly labouring to refute men's hasty sympathies by an appeal to their deliberate reason." Notwithstanding the rebuffs this Section has met with in the course of its history—rebuffs not altogether undeserved, according to the candid acknowledgment of Mr. Grant Duff himself—we trust it has a long career before it. We entirely agree in the opinion of Dr. Jevons, whose name and work are enough to guarantee the possibility of grappling with the most vexed questions of political economy in the spirit of a trained scientist, "I regard the existence of this Section as a satisfactory recognition of the absolute necessity of doing our best to cultivate economic subjects in a scientific spirit."

We have now finished our review of the progress of science, as reflected in the chief deliverances to which the members of the Association listened at York in September last. No one, however, will make the mistake of supposing that this hasty survey can pretend to anything like completeness. A glance at the topics discussed at this last meeting of the Association will suffice to show how impossible it is that the vast sweep of its enterprises and achievements should be comprehended within the limits of an article. The possibility of the existence of intra-Mercurial

planets; the photographic spectrum of the Comet B, 1881; the applications of electric energy to horticultural and agricultural purposes; the specific refractions of solids from their solutions; silicious and hot springs in New Zealand; the Laurentian beds; Channel dredging; the causes of volcanic action; the natural history of Timor-laut; the stature of the inhabitants of Hungary; the equipment of exploring expeditions; an isochronic postal chart; agricultural statistics and prospects; scientific teaching in elementary schools; a general banking law; these are some of the principal topics set down for one day's work of the Association, and that the day on which most of the sectional addresses were delivered. The programme for the following day embraced ninety-one papers, as various and important in their subjects as those whose titles have been given.

We have no space left for the concluding observations we wished to make on the interdependence of the various branches of science, on its practical utility to mankind, on the relations of its present condition to the education of the country, on the desirableness or undesirableness of a National Academy of Science upon the same plan as the French Institute, and on the prospects of science in the future. These are points we must leave our readers to revolve in their own minds. We will conclude with an incident referred to at the first meeting by Sir David Brewster—whose centenary we are glad to see has just been celebrated with great enthusiasm in the land of his birth. Sir David had once been trying an experiment with an old coin by placing it on a hot iron, when to his surprise an inscription, before unnoticed, became distinctly legible, containing the words, *Benedictum sit nomen Dei*. With the happiest effect Viscount Morpeth turned this incident to account in a speech which he made immediately after Sir David sat down. Calling attention to the many benefits to science to be expected from the new Association, he mentioned this as one of the chief, "to exalt above and over all the wonder-working hand of Heaven. For it will always come out from the pursuit of knowledge as surely as from the old medal of which we have just heard, *Benedictum sit nomen Dei*." So long as this spirit animates the votaries of science, its issues will ever be as fruitful of good to man's moral well-being as to those more material interests which some seem to think its sole concern.

ART. VII.—*Kirchliche Glaubenslehre.* Von Dr. F. A. PHILIPPI.  
*Die Vollendung der Gottesgemeinschaft.* [The Consum-  
 mation of Fellowship with God.] Güterslop.

THIS volume brings to a close the great work on dogmatic theology which will be the best result of Dr. Philippi's labours. Its title is *The Consummation of Fellowship with God*: in harmony with the fundamental idea of the whole book, which treats successively of the original reality of that fellowship, its interruption by sin, its objective restoration in the work of Christ, its subjective appropriation in the Church and through the means of grace, and its final perfection in heaven. Before giving some analysis of this last volume, we must observe again—as we have observed before in reference to the earlier volumes—that the entire treatise is an exposition and defence of distinctively Lutheran theology. That is its characteristic; no departure from the old lines of the confessions and dogmatic writings of the Reformation is allowed for a moment. The author has no speculations of his own, introduces no novelties, and does not show any anxiety to reconcile the old tradition with modern investigations either of criticism or of science. This feature gives his labours in some respects a high and noble character; they are the tribute of an honest and learned divine to the standards which bind him to his Church, and furnish an example well worthy of imitation. At the same time, it leaves the impression of a certain narrowness here and there, which must necessarily confine the book to his own communion. For general use in a translation it would be inappropriate.

The author establishes at the outset the proposition that there must be a final consummation, since God can leave none of His works incomplete. But how may we describe that consummation? We have no personal subjective experience of it, any more than we have of our original estate; but, as we conclude from the fall and redemption what that original estate was, so may we gather from that original estate, and the nature of the restoration of it already in process, what its perfection will be.

First of all, it will be the consummation of the knowledge of God. As now it is the knowledge of faith, which, being

mediated by the word, is a relative concealment as well as only a relative disclosure of the Divine Being, the transition from faith and earthly media to sight or the immediate beholding of God may be described as a direct intuition of the essence of Deity: not indeed an absolute comprehension of the mystery, but still without discursive use of the understanding. With this is most closely connected the perfection of holiness, consisting in pure and perfected love; as also the perfection of blessedness, consisting in the subjective and consummate satisfaction with the objective perfect possession of God in finished fellowship with Him founded on knowledge and love.

This is well, if rightly understood. But it is startling to find that the transition to this spiritual consummation is absolutely declared to be bodily death. Of course, there is a sense in which this is true; the death of believers is the gate of life. But the author's own words are these:

"Through death believers are withdrawn from the temptations of Satan and the world, from the lusts of the flesh and the sufferings of the present time. The sin still remaining in them has its seat, however, not merely in their body, but also in their spirit. True that the spirit filled by the Spirit of God is in them the ruling principle, and may be called their proper will. Yet is there necessary in the moment of death a specific Divine act of grace in order to their purification and perfect deliverance from the still present, though subjugated, principle of evil. *In ipsa morte peccatum originis tollitur*, says J. Gerhard. The spiritual consummation is as much a creating miracle of God as the spiritual new birth."

It is observable that Philippi has here no Scripture to cite in support of his bold proposition. Those who are familiar with his work know that its strength lies in the clearness with which he expounds the classical texts which he regards as establishing every doctrine. The present volume is from beginning to end an illustration of this: it is little more than a controversial exegesis of the Biblical revelation of the Last Things. But here at the outset there is no appeal to Scripture for the defence of his position. He makes death, the death of a Christian, the appointed instrument for the annihilation of indwelling sin; thus elevating it, as it were, into a kind of new sacrament, through which it pleases the Omnipotent Dispenser of Grace to work upon the scarcely conscious spirit, *ex opera operato*,

the crowning work of salvation. Of this we find no trace in the revealed economy of the Spirit's administration. In default of Scripture, our author appeals to other writers of the same mind with himself. He adduces Thomasius, adopts his quotation from Göschel, rather, however, for the sake of the sentences of Luther imbedded in them than for their own sake. "What the long period of life has been unable or has neglected to accomplish, the short period of dying can victoriously achieve through the help of Him who died for us on the cross, who comes to none so observably and so sensibly near as to the dying man. . . . That is true which Luther proclaimed in his thirteenth thesis, that dying is the proper and essential purgatory on this side which so many are seeking on the other side, the purgatory which thoroughly burns away at last all sin, infirmity, and error. How shall we be astonished when we come to know what a mission has been entrusted to death, and what a harvest has been gathered in by the last hours of life." But again we say, where is the evidence of this in the Word of God? a single passage would be of more value than many theses of Luther. We find other quotations, as from Delitzsch, insisting on the intensity of the effect of the impending separation from all things earthly, and the nearer vision of the great reality, in driving out the last trace of inhering sin from the believer. Quoting these with some measure of approval, the author is yet dissatisfied with them because they do not make prominent "the Divine miracle which consummates the spiritual life in the article of dying."

Death in the Christian economy has a noble place and function, since it has been robbed of its sting. But it has no such function as that of putting an end to sin. It is rather surprising to find so thoughtful a writer distinguishing between the indwelling sin of the body and that of the spirit. The commentator on the Romans might almost seem to have forgotten his own noble exposition when he uses words that give encouragement to that subtle relic of Gnosticism which will retain the sin of human nature until it is dissolved into its elements, and the bodily part is purified in the earth. The great majority of Christians are ranged on this side with him, however; and there are few that plead for the possibility of the removal of original sin, or rather the believer's own inbred original sin, from the soul during life, in answer to the prayer of faith, and

under the conditions ordained in the Gospel. While we demur to the honour thus put upon death, we must, notwithstanding, acknowledge with thankfulness two things in this general statement which are of great importance.

The first is, that so much prominence is given by the older and the later divines of Lutheranism, and here especially by Philippi, to the fact that the soul's perfect preparation for heaven is the removal of the principle of sin from the nature. Our author rightly interprets purity of heart in its deepest sense as the removal of whatever God could not admit into His immediate presence and fellowship with Himself: in other words, the abolition of sin itself. The tendency even among those who speak most earnestly about entire sanctification is to forget this, and to limit their views of Christian perfection to a state of entire consecration and perfect devotion and love to God. There are seasons when the heart is conscious of nothing contrary; this consciousness may continue long in its undimmed joy; and it may become, indeed, the predominant and ruling state of the soul; while yet the latent sin may be there and lying in wait. The extinction of sin is something deeper than all this. The second is, the firmness with which our author insists on the direct miracle of God's power being as signally witnessed in the destruction of sin as in our regeneration. This is a most important truth, and one that equally needs to be impressed upon Christian teachers. As regeneration is a Divine act, imparting the life of the Son of God to the spirit prepared for it, so the perfect death of sin is a Divine act, the act of the same Spirit who alone can kill and make alive in this sense. Christians may be called upon to purify themselves, and consecrate themselves, and crucify the body of sin, and kill its individual members; but the final death of the old man in him must be a Divine operation. But here we mark the subtle inconsistency of Philippi. The writers whom he quotes are nearer the truth than he is. They assign to the disciplinary instrumentality of dying what he insists upon assigning to death itself. But surely if death itself—the separation of the soul from its sinful companion the flesh—accomplishes the destruction of sin in every believer who dies in Christ, why does he lay so much stress upon the Divine omnipotence? But we must not in these pages go further with such a subject; and only suggest that we should like to make a compromise here. We grant to our



author that it is very often, indeed in the great majority of cases, amidst the disciplinary sorrows of dissolution that the final victory over sin is achieved by the Divine power. And he ought to concede to us that the virtue of the atonement and the power of the Holy Spirit are abundantly sufficient to provide for the destruction of every "work of the devil" in believers' hearts.

The second great subject in Eschatology is, of course, the intermediate state, concerning which Philippi's views are very decided. Indeed, it is his opposition to the idea of any such state that sharpens the edge of his argument for death as the destroyer of sin. He has to contend, not only against the full-formed dogma of a purgatorial discipline after death, which is supposed to supply the defects of the work of grace upon earth, but also against a number of theories which his own fellow-divines of the Lutheran Church are striving to establish. Kahnis and Martensen are representatives of a large number who wish to uphold the continuity of spiritual development after death, at least in the case of the believers who die in an imperfect spiritual condition. It is well known that modern Lutheran theology has very abundantly cultivated this field: searching diligently for every intimation concerning the state of the dead which might encourage their speculation as to missionary processes for the spirits in prison and an advancement in grace for the waiting saints. Philippi does not examine these theories. He takes the simple method of annihilating at once an intermediate state, and expounding the New Testament as teaching the immediate transition of the dying believer—after the miracle of grace has extinguished his sin in death—into a glorified state in heaven with Christ.

He selects, as the *locus classicus* for such an immediate glorification, 2 Cor. v. 1-10; and gives an exhaustive exposition in support of his views. Linking this passage with the concluding words of the previous chapter, he regards St. Paul as contemplating with the eye of faith and hope the future good of heaven, which is not seen, instead of the sufferings of the world that is seen. The blessedness of heaven, consisting in the vision of God, is a spiritual good which is fully entered upon as soon as the spirit leaves the body, though it will be corporeally consummated at the resurrection. The earthly house of this tabernacle St. Paul supposes

that he may leave, and the house not made with hands is the inviolable heavenly habitation into which he hopes to be admitted at death. If this is called a building "eternal in heaven," that is simply like the "many mansions" in the one house of the Father: heaven is the common abode of the elect, but each has his several mansions there. The present "we have" is inconsistent with any reference to the resurrection body: our author will not hear of any ideal or prospective possession of a risen body which the distant Parousia would make a reality. Nor can we understand then "not made with hands," since even the glorified body is identical with that which was generated on earth. And "eternal" in the heavens he thinks inappropriate to that. Moreover, the new body will not be "from heaven" (ver. 2), but rather summoned up "from earth." Changing the figure, the apostle then represents himself as longing in the body to put on his heavenly dwelling as a garment. As if he would say: "I speak of being clothed *upon*, for on our entrance into heaven we shall already be *clothed*, and the heavenly garment will be put on over this our clothing. Since we (ver. 3, as believers in hope and assurance) shall be found (at our entrance into heaven) clothed (notwithstanding our being unclothed of the body in death), and not naked, the garment of the soul which believers have and bring with them is Christ and His righteousness." Again in verse 4 the Apostle brings in the obverse side. He had before said, "It is better to die in order as soon as possible to enter heaven;" now he says, "It is still better not to die, but without dying to be translated through a glorified body into heaven, that mortality may be swallowed up of life." The groanings of verse 2 and verse 4 are different. As Calovius says: "There the groanings are of grace with desires towards eternal life, produced by the Holy Spirit; here it is the groaning of nature on account of the fear of dying." As the object of the clothing in verse 2 was the heavenly dwelling or heaven itself with its glory, and in verse 3 its object was the investiture with Christ and His righteousness, so here in verse 4 the object of the "unclothed" is this earthly body (or tabernacle), and that of the "clothed upon," the glorified body. "For this very thing" God has prepared us, to wit, that mortality may be swallowed up of life: whether by our entering into

heaven at death and at the Parousia through resurrection; or by our arriving to the Parousia and attaining the resurrection body through being changed. "The Spirit who prepared us is the earnest and pledge that at the Parousia the full sum of the heavenly glory is to be made over to believers." In harmony with this interpretation of the first four verses, the "walking by sight" is regarded as really the meaning of the latter part of the contrast; and the being "present with the Lord" is made equivalent to the "seeing Him as He is." Present in the body and absent from the body are made equivalent to living or dying, and not thus: "we strive that, whether at His coming in the body or already out of it, we may then be found well pleasing to Him."

It is not our business to examine this exposition of what is one of the most difficult passages in St. Paul's writings. We have only to do with its eschatological bearing. And in this view it seems open to the censure of great exaggeration. It is well to make the passage a *dictum probans* for the conscious existence of the separate spirit; for its existence in the presence of Christ; for its enjoyment of peace and rest; and for its entrance into heaven, since wherever Christ is must be heaven. But the tone of this exposition and of some others which we may refer to hereafter tends to annihilate any distinction between the present state of the departed just, and their final state after the return of Christ. The one and only difference allowed is that the body is added to the sum of the man and to the sum of his joy. It is hard to turn from these descriptions to the visions of the Apocalypse without a wrench of thought. They do not agree together. But we need only refer to the immediate context. St. Paul leads up through all these sentences to the manifestation of every man before the judgment, that he may receive the things done in his body. The judgment day, with its issues, seems here to be neutralised, or at least robbed of its tremendous significance: indeed the judgment as one great chapter in eschatology has but scanty mention throughout this treatise.

The very remarkable exposition which refers the "not being found naked," and the "being clothed," to an investiture with the righteousness of Christ, has not, perhaps, had the respect shown to it which it deserves. It has been for ages a favourite one with a certain class of theologians;

and, apart from the "righteousness" interpolated, it is quite in harmony with the Apostle's language elsewhere; especially in Romans xiii., where he is exhorting the members of the Lord's undying company to go out and meet Him as "children of the day," and to "put on the Lord Jesus Christ." But a close examination of the context will fail to discern a reason for such a sudden change in the Apostle's use of the same words. Of course it saves Philippi, and those whom he follows, from taking any trouble with the question as to the bodiless estate of the separated spirit,—at least as dependent on this passage. The question generally is one of profound interest, and one that cannot be passed over in a work on Eschatology. It would not be easy to reckon the various hypotheses which have been devised to elude the necessity of supposing the disembodied to be literally without any quasi-material organs. The "white garments" of the Apocalypse have been referred to in connection with the Corinthian passage, as the basis of the superstructure. But it is evident that the garments washed in the blood of the Lamb belong only to the vision, and figuratively represent the purity of the saints. It is not so easy to answer those who point us, not to one passage only, but to the whole tenor of the Apocalypse, which exhibits the Church of the intermediate state as having something corresponding to corporeal investiture. What it is the Scripture has not revealed; and theosophical speculation is out of place. The arguments adduced against it here do seem to have much force. For instance, it is said by Thomasius that the notion of an intermediate body contradicts the Scriptural doctrine of death, which entirely separates soul and body; that it contradicts 2 Corinthians v. 1, *seq.*; that it is opposed to the characterisation of the departed as "spirits" and as "souls;" and that it detracts from the verity and reality of the final resurrection, by anticipating it. It is obvious to reply to all these objections that the theory does not propose to give to the disembodied spirits their own bodies as such, but some such ethereal representation of it as it might "please God" to give.

However, to return. The reader of this volume may not be able to agree with Philippi that the Scripture has one uniform method of describing the blessedness of the departed as the immediate "vision of God," which is given

to the "pure in heart." It seems generally the vision of God in Christ that is assigned to the glorified: and, while the glory of God fills the Temple in the Apocalypse, "the Lamb is the Lamp thereof." Moreover, the last testimony of Scripture to the hope of the saints represents it as a hope in the second advent: "When He shall be revealed we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." Whenever the New Testament speaks of the blessedness of the saints,—whether as life, or salvation, or the vision of God,—the language is either general and indeterminate as to time, meaning only the great futurity, irrespective of chronological order, or it has some specific allusion to the Day of Christ as the end of a waiting period or the beginning of a consummate vision of God in Christ, and communion with Him. Philippi has long dissertations on "Abraham's bosom" and "Paradise," and the "Rest or Katapausis," which may be studied with great interest as expositions—especially the last,—but they fail to sustain the full doctrine that he bases upon them. To give only one instance: "Salvation" is represented as distinctively perfect in the world to which the death of the faithful leads them. But St. Paul expressly says that the Lord's coming the second time will be "unto salvation."

As to the Resurrection itself, it might seem as if its meaning and significance would be lowered by the extreme views of the author, annihilating, as they do, the intermediate state and condition, abolishing the very last traces of Paradise as the gate of the final heaven, and giving to the perfected spirits all the joy of the Lord before the time. But it is simply the fact that the most elaborate expositions of his volume tend to establish the verity and the importance of the exceedingly literal resurrection of the flesh. The true foundation is laid, that man was created by God originally as a spiritual-bodily personality; and that the consummation of the Divine work in his restoration must introduce the rehabilitation of his body as well as his soul. "For if the body remains abandoned to death, corruption, and annihilation, then there is no assurance given even of man's continuance, constituted as he was in the Divine idea as inseparably body and soul, not to say of the glorification of his spirit in the other world." However exalted is the view here given of the glorification of the body, there lies at the root of it a very literal idea of the resurrection. "It is a miracle of the Divine omnipotence. If God

created the world out of nothing, much more can He raise again the body even though disintegrated into dust, separating and recovering the constituent elements which have been dissolved and have passed into other organisms. He who really believes in a personal God and in a creation cannot intelligently and consistently deny the possibility of the resurrection of the body."

But the glorification of corporeity presupposes also a glorified world as the only corresponding and adequate abode of spiritual-bodily creatures: whether this new world be an absolutely new creation, or only a changed form of the same. The author has an elaborate discussion of the latter question, examining every passage of Scripture bearing on it, and gathering a long catena of Lutheran authorities on the one side and the other. On this, and on all the topics of eschatology his principle is "to separate the certain from the probable, the probable from the certain, the dogma from the *pia sententia*, to exercise a fitting *ἐποχή* as to the latter, and to apply the principle *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas*." But the analogy of the resurrection of the identical human body—to which he holds so firmly—helps him to decide, though with an inconsistent hesitation, in favour of a transformation of the present earth. "The literal sense of St. Peter's words (2 Ep. iii. 10-12) is, that the universe reduced to ashes by fire will be changed by the creating power of God to a new heaven and a new earth, and raised like the human body to a more glorious state of existence. This would in any case be creation, though only a secondary creation, and not primary. We may compare the renewal of the universe as a *macrocosm* with the renewal of man as the *microcosm*. . . ." As to the passage in Romans viii. 22-24, "if the creation is promised, not a deliverance through annihilation, but a deliverance through glorification, in answer to its sighs not only to be rescued from the bondage of corruption, but to rejoice in the revelation of the sons of God, then there can be no absolute annihilation, as in that case the world would be a different subject in the two parts of the sentence."

These final processes take place at once at the end of the present æon, and not successively or with intervals: all coincident with the Lord's reappearance, and as the result of it. The order of the whole is accordingly as follows: the reception of dying believers into heaven, the return of the



Lord to the judgment which makes manifest and consummates what before was hidden, the resurrection of the dead and the transformation of the living, the creation of a new heaven and a new earth, and the translation of the perfected into this new world for eternal spiritual-bodily blessedness and glory. It may naturally be objected that this return of the blessed to the new earth, from the heaven of the vision of God, involves something like a diminution of their blessedness. This objection is met by the remark that, the earth being irradiated by the glory of heaven, the difference between heaven and earth is abolished; as also that we must not conceive the bodies of the risen to be bound any longer by gross materiality to the earth, but that they will be able to rise easily to the heights of heaven, and thence return again to the earth as their permanent and appropriate dwelling. But, after all the special pleading which we find here, fortified as it is as usual by long quotations from Luther and the Lutheran Fathers, we cannot help feeling that all this is not strictly in harmony with the perspective which the New Testament gives us. The intermediate state—or as it is called here, “the preliminary consummation”—seems in some undefinable way to surpass the “final consummation.” The heavenly vision of God is not the terminus of the blessed vista: the spirits already made perfect see Him face to face, and constantly, Whom after the judgment they will visit as it were from this lower earth. And surely it can hardly be said that the Lord’s coming to judgment will be the manifestation of a hidden secret, when all the saints departed in Christ are open and manifest occupants of the highest heavens. However, we will give the author’s negative description of the final estate; it will be an interesting glimpse of the difficulties in which the subject involves the theologian who takes one step beyond Scripture.

“As to the general relations and activities of the glorified company, our observations must be more limited to the negative style of definitions. As the first human beings came naked from the Creator’s hand, the fall not having awakened evil concupiscence and shame and rendered clothing necessary, so most assuredly the bodies perfectly spiritualised will still less need any external covering. Nor will homes be necessary, or protection against varieties of weather, which will no more be found in glorified nature. Nor will stately palaces serve for display, since the whole universe will have become one most magnificent and everywhere

glorious abode of the blessed, the beauty of which the eye will never be weary of beholding.

"In his original estate, man was appointed to cultivate the earth and labour generally, but the fruit of his labour was intended to satisfy his bodily necessities ; in the new earth man will have no earthly necessities, will neither know the sweat of his brow in labour, nor any labour at all. Not even intellectual labour and scientific acquisition of knowledge, the grounds of which will be altogether wanting. For the science of law presupposes sin, injustice, and crime ; the science of medicine presupposes sickness, physical and psychical sufferings, against which it opposes the methods and means of reaction ; theology, as the science of faith, has, with the abolition of word and sacrament, and the change of faith into sight, surrendered its foundation ; the opposition of theology and philosophy, with philosophy itself as an independent scientific discipline, have passed away with the ceasing of intellectual reflection and discursive thought, whose place will have been taken by immediate intuitive beholding of the Being of God and nature. But here it must be remembered that the immediate contemplation, which involves assurance of the real presence of its object, is not to be confounded with that absolute comprehension of the mystery of the Divine essence which is unattainable by the creature though speculation may strive after it. And science having ended, art ends also. For art lives by the ideal, into which it seeks to raise the present realities, and which it would reproduce in its pictures. But in the new earth, filled with super-earthly glory, the ideal is perfectly realised ; and art has therefore lost its problem and forfeited its aims. Thus we may not surrender ourselves either to the Swedenborgian dreams which, like those of the American Indians, would make the activities of the citizens of the heavenly world correspond, though in sublimed and intensified degree, with the doings of this life ; so that the Dutch still have their fishing and trade, and the hunters pursue their game in heavenly fields. Absurdities like these, however, are the final consequence of the favourite modern Realism, with its desperate determination to carry over the circumstances of the present state into the future world. Nor have they any right to charge us with an etherealising spiritualism when we treat prophetic figures taken from the present sphere as being no other than figures. In perfect consistency with this we regard heaven as by no means an assembly of bodiless spirits ; but earnestly contend for a glorified corporeity of the human race, and a glorified condition of the universe itself. *Nescire quæ nesciri voluit sciendi summus magister, erudita est inscitia.*"

This last maxim should perhaps have been remembered before : especially in a dogmatic treatise. Our author has

given a close and generally good exposition of the great Corinthian chapter, as of other passages in the Epistles which treat of the resurrection; and that part of his work will be found more profitable. In fact, the only scientific treatment of the subject must needs limit itself to the simple and sound interpretation of the Word of God. In connection with one part of the previous exposition, the following reference to the gradations of glory will be interesting:

"In the contemplation of the Three-One they will all, small and great, be taught of God; all political and ecclesiastical offices being for ever needless. There will be no more room for education, development having ended. Development is effected only in time; and, time being lifted into eternity, there can be no more developing nature. The family relation has ceased, and all fraternal instruction is over. . . . The degrees of glory are not conditioned by natural relations of race or kindred, but by the degree of holiness attained on earth. Pride and envy cannot exist in those who occupy a higher or lower grade; for, though not equal in glory, all will be equal in the blessedness of beholding and praising the Triune God. The more exalted in glory will magnify the greater mercy to them; the less exalted will not only yield the former their rights, but rejoice in their elevation, and in this joy, as it were, share the higher dignity themselves. 'If one member be honoured, all members will rejoice with it.'"

The work we have before us is very irregular. On this point we should expect a discussion of the judgment, and its more particular reference to the estate of the lost. The various shades of opinion through which the Lutheran mind has been passing of late years might have been exhibited with much advantage to us who are passing through them ourselves. The tendency just now is to hold the balance between the orthodox and the latitudinarian views so evenly that at length the matter is declared to be unsettled in the Bible, and ought therefore to be left unsettled in dogma. But, though Philippi does not help the truth by a close examination of Scripture on this subject, he says enough to show how decidedly he holds the faith of the Lutheran standards. At this point, however, he diverges into an examination of the Apocalypse, giving a general exposition which is intended to fill up the outlines of his previous dogmatics on all these subjects. We shall allude only to a few points in it, especially the notes that

touch the theory of the Apocalyptic perspective and the Thousand Years.

Since the Lord's coming we are at the end of the days; and the developments of this last age are exhibited to the seer in our history from beginning to end: with the complexity and the perspective of ancient prophecy. The "things which are" refer to the state of the Asiatic churches in the two following chapters; the "things which shall be" to all the future, not as limited to the times immediately before the second coming. The seven churches are types of which later churches are antitypes: without any chronological reference to subsequent history. Our author does not fall into the common strain of German exegesis: to make the Seven Epistles adumbrate the seven-fold state of the Church to the end of time. He sees indeed in those of Ephesus and Smyrna the Church of the first ages and the Lutheran Church in the days of its rigid orthodoxy. In Pergamum and Thyatira, with their patience and comparative indifference to error, he finds the germs of Moravianism and the Separatist sects generally. Sardis represents to him the old and corrupting churches of all ages. And so forth. These churches are all warned to be ready for the calamities that impend, from chapter iv. onwards, that they may finally enter into the heavenly Jerusalem. And it is on this account that they form the Introduction. "Those churches are selected by the Apostle in which the various ecclesiastical conditions of all times were reflected; and Seven, the number of the Covenant, symbolises our Lord's covenant of Grace with His universal Church upon earth, and dispersed into seven-fold diversity of rays." In the fourth and fifth chapters the seer is translated to the scene in heaven, beholds the Three-One, and sees the Lamb with the sealed book of the Church's history.

The author's exposition of the ninth chapter gives him an opportunity to unfold what he calls the "grouping theory," which regards the collective judgments upon the world through the whole age down to the Second Coming as again and again condensed in the Apocalypse in one great united figure. When it is said that "the great day of His wrath is come," we must understand the final catastrophe as introduced; after which the seventh seal gives the answer as to who "shall be able to stand." "In chap. viii. 1, after the opening of the seventh seal, there

is the half-hour's silence in heaven. This silence is a symbol of the eternal rest, the heavenly *Katapausis*, into which the redeemed after the last judgment enter. As opposed to the swift process of the description of the preceding visions, this half-hour appears to be a long season." Then follows another group of the seven trumpets, running parallel with the former seals, partly supplementing them and partly developing them still further. The third woe of chap. xi. 15 introduces the seventh trumpet, as the seventh seal had been introduced; and a second time we have the great end of all, which is exhibited in a variety of solemn figures. In chap. xii. the second part of the ninth trumpet, chap. xi. 1-13, is taken up again; the Church and her persecutions is the theme. At the end of the fourteenth chapter we are once more in the presence of the final catastrophe. But something is then taken up again: that is, a more specific description of the fate of the beast, his kingdom and his metropolis. The brief reference to the fall of Babylon in chap. xiv. 8 is supplemented and developed at length: the vision of the angels and vials of wrath comes in. As in the two former windings-up, the seer pauses to describe the estate of the blessed; not now, however, the 144,000, but with a special reference to the salvation from the beast. "The vials then embrace a briefer span, for they describe specifically the judgments upon the antichristian heathenism of the Papacy, in which the ancient heathen persecutor of Christ is continued and raised to a higher power." The seventh vial introduces the final consummation once more for the fourth time. "Babylon the great is not the ancient Rome which persecuted Christianity, but the modern antichristian Rome again become heathen because persecuting the Gospel. With the final judgment upon Babylon the dissolution of the world is bound up. Every island vanishes, and the hills are no more to be found. God is blasphemed, and there is no more repentance, as in chapter xi. 13." Once more a specific part of the preceding visions is taken up and developed; and we have the intercourse between the seer and one of the angels of the vials. Babylon and the kingdoms of the earth occupy the visions down to chapter xix., when a fifth time the great Parousia is introduced, this, like the preceding, connected with the fall of Babylon. In chap. xx. 11 the universal judgment, after proleptic hints in verses 9, 10, brings on the sixth and last description of

the end of the present æon : the description being more full and less figurative than any before. Here we must quote a passage which in some points throws a startling light on the general doctrine of the consummation before the consummation which this book everywhere seems to teach.

"In conclusion, the representation of the judgment itself follows. Jesus sees the dead, small and great, standing before the throne ; the books are opened, with that other book which is the book of life, and the dead are judged in harmony with what is written in the book according to their works (ver. 12 ; compare ii. 29) : the sea gave up her dead, and death and Hades gave up their dead, and each was judged according to his works ; ver. 13. The dead mentioned in ver. 12 are, as standing before the judgment-seat, to be regarded as the risen dead ; ver. 13 does not add a new class of them to those mentioned in ver. 12, but makes more definite that in ver. 12. All the dead without exception are meant ; since not only the earth, but all imaginable places of concealment, have given up their dead. Those still living are not brought into view, any more than in John v. 28, *seq.* : but it is well understood that they also appear at the judgment. In the books the works of all the dead are noted ; in the book of life the names of those whose good works are written in the books as testimonies of their faith. Death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire ; this is the second death, the lake of fire ; that is, the being cast into the lake of fire. Whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire ; it is through faith that a man's name is written in the book of life, but he must make his calling and election sure ; his fall from faith may erase his name, and endurance to the end alone ensures its continuing to be written there. In ver. 14 death and Hades are personified : that they were thrown into the lake of fire tells us that they who were in the state of death and misery are given up at the day of judgment in their full spiritual bodily personality to the fire as their absolutely eternal condemnation. For, strictly speaking, only men found in death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire. Here we have also a *dictum probans* for the resurrection of the ungodly : compare John v. 28 ; Acts xxiv. 15, &c."

If our author regards this as the programme of the final scene of our Lord's universal judgment, the description must embarrass him. It is not said that "heaven gave up its dead." But it seems to us that the picture is drawn, or rather the figure is interpreted, with special reference, at least in its closing part, to the character and state of the



wicked. Every word looks that way. The natural interpretation of the first "death and Hades" would regard the compound expression as unlimited, meaning that the whole company of the departed, good and evil, appeared at the judgment-seat: the entire and universal commonwealth of Hades as the abode of the departed spirits of men. Hence it is said that every man thus given up was judged according to his works: not, therefore, the evil alone. In that case, the casting of death and Hades into the lake of fire must mean their annihilation. But the lake of fire does not mean annihilation in the previous chapter: the penalty there is said to be torment for ever and ever. Therefore the second use of the term must be limited to the ungodly; and there are not wanting instances of a change of this kind in the application of a figure. The estate of the blessed is the subject of the concluding chapters, and in these words the seer dismisses—though not finally—the ungodly and the lost.

The application of the principles of grouping, perspective, recapitulation, and successive returns upon the figure to expand it more fully, gives a singular interest to Philippi's sketch of the apocalyptic visions. We have not attempted to follow him. The reader who does so will find that he is as original as an expositor can well be on such a subject: not blindly following ancients or moderns, while generally following in the lines of Hengstenberg and Düsterdieck. As we hinted above, the strong points of the sketch are the unwavering and uncompromising maintenance of the theory that Papal Antichrist is a leading subject, and that the thousand years are past or passing already. These two principles are seldom held together, or by the same expositor. It is hard to understand how Satan can be bound if he is so successful in deceiving the nations through the great apostasy of Christian heathenism.

Dr. Philippi does not give us the usual summary of opinions as to Antichrist. He goes straight onward in his exposition, and finds the Papacy under two aspects, operations, and names everywhere after a certain time staring him in the face. Nor does he, as we have hinted, stop to harmonise his interpretation of this part of the Apocalypse with his views of the millennial age. We have no space, nor does it enter into our plan, to discuss the problem of Antichrist. It is quite enough to give the reader the views of a learned and orthodox interpreter, and leave him to

compare them with other interpretations. At the same time, we may observe that the style of exposition is too exaggerated on this subject to carry conviction. Many who see the corrupt religion of Rome exhibited as one manifestation of Antichrist will be made suspicious by the confidence with which sweeping conclusions are drawn from slender premises, and the most obscure hints are made to yield strong evidence. For instance, on the Beast of chap. xiii.: "The wounded and healed head in the sixth head, the heathen Roman power, which, being annihilated, rises to life again in the antichristian Roman Papal power. The Beast and the healed head are identical; for in the wounded head the Beast was wholly slain, and in the healed head it has been raised to greater power and glory. The one head as it had been slain points back to the *Lamb as it had been slain*. The Beast is the Satanic counterpart or foil of the Lamb: opposed to Christ as Antichrist."

The following passage is extorted from the author's Protestant feeling by the protest of Kliefoth against this view:

"Is it not blasphemy that the Pope sets himself up as God (as the Jews maintained that Christ blasphemed God because He made Himself equal with God); that he declares himself to be the infallible representative of the Son of God upon earth, having power not only over powers obviously established in the world, but also over heaven and hell; that individual Popes have appropriated the names of God and Leo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, as the Italian people even now call the Pope *il dio in terra*? He has in all times persecuted the tabernacle of God on earth, the congregation of true believers, and those whose walk is in heaven (ver. 6)."

Defending himself against the charge that he forces this theory on the Book of Revelation, Philippi almost stakes all on the mysterious "number of the beast." It is the number of a man: that is, a number as commonly reckoned among men, not a symbolical and mystical number such as the three, and the four, and seven and ten: in fact, the number of the beast reckoned according to the valuation of the letters usual among men. That number is 666. This can be no other, our author pleads, than *Λατρεύος*: as ancient inscriptions are still extant which gives this form instead of *Λατίδος*. The letters of Roma are not given, because it is not the metropolis that is here in question, but

the kingdom itself. The author lays great stress on the fact that the number cannot be symbolical, however out of keeping such a view may seem to be with the general strain of the Apocalypse. The word *ψηφίζειν* is specifically used only to reckon with stones or counters, *calculare*. This reckoning not only required, as the text says, *voûs*, or understanding—since 666 might be combined of other letters—but also an actual adding up after separation. The numbers are in the orders of the letters 30, 1, 300, 5, 10, 50, 70, 200, equal in all to 666. As to any concomitant symbolical interpretation—such as the length and breadth, 60 and 6, of the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar—which would then, in his view, represent the perfected worldliness of the Papacy, Philippi leaves that matter undecided.

But he vehemently insists that no Lutheran ought to be in any doubt as to the Papacy being Antichrist; whether or not he may hold that it is not the last and most consummate form of it. He cannot understand how any can tolerate the thought that this most evident form of Antichrist within the Church itself could be omitted from the central visions of the Apocalypse. In the beginning there is the heathen state, and at the end the Church become again a heathen state, as seen in Gog and Magog. "We ought not in a one-sided way to look only at the two extremes: one devil is not cast out by another. Even the strongest conservative must in these days say with Luther: *Deus nos impleat odio Papæ*." This dictum of Luther animates our author against opponents on all sides. But the millenarian expositors of the Apocalypse give him most trouble. They have a place in their theory for the man of sin which will not allow him to be introduced too soon in the programme of St. John's visions. Luthardt, in particular, absolutely denies that the Apostle can then be speaking of anything but an individual person: all the names he selects, and the whole tone of the passage, make it unquestionable that he is not referring to any spiritual tendency or any corporate manifestation of evil. "And it is now generally acknowledged," says Luthardt, "that the Apostle is not speaking of a multitude of persons, but of one, who belongs to the end of history. Against this Philippi pleads with great force, though with a great deal of special pleading, the result being to produce the impression on our minds that neither view is in itself correct. Philippi, for instance, argues as follows: "The Apostle, when he speaks of 'the

mystery of iniquity already working,' beholds in the apostolical age itself the apparent germs of error already beginning to develope : the beginning of the end. Nothing was wanting but the downfall of the Roman empire, and the papal assumption of worldly power, to exalt within the Church itself Antichristian error. So John sees in the error of his time the present Antichrist and liar, who should, according to 2 Thess. iii. find his full realisation in the future: "this is the deceiver and Antichrist" makes it most evident that the Antichrist is a collective idea. But the appeal to St. John is unfortunate in one respect. To this Apostle the Antichristian spirit is pre-eminently the denial of the incarnation and its issues; in other words, a development of Christian error which should culminate in a fundamental breach with the great Christian doctrine of the coming of the Son of God in the flesh. That denial has never been chargeable on any great and universal form of Christendom that has yet been visible to the eyes of men. Many kinds of Antichrist have appeared, of course, besides that answering to St. John's type. But the argumentation of Philippi tends to make the idea culminate in one form, which, however opposed to many of the great principles of Christianity, has never been stamped with the essential lie that St. John refers to. It is urged also by many of his opponents that Mahometanism and the fallen Oriental churches are robbed of their unholy rights by this argument; and we confess that Philippi's attempt to make Gog and Magog serve the purpose of uniting the scattered and inconsistent fragments of his theory, does not carry conviction to our minds.

Our author devotes an elaborate note to the task of enforcing his plea as against his inconsistent fellow-Lutherans. He says: "It may not be superfluous to recall to the memory of the Lutheran Church in our day the passages of our Symbols which show with what holy earnestness and full demonstration our fathers vindicated the proposition that the Pope is Antichrist." Then follows a goodly array of Reformation-testimonies, drawn from the several confessions and dogmatic treatises of that age. But these are quoted in vain as argument with men who deny that the definition of Antichrist is a fundamental article of faith. Others again urge the counterplea that some of these testimonies go too far; denying the continuity of the Christian religion through the ages of decline: as if, to use Luther's

words, all the children of God were in the wilderness; and as if the many sanctified souls whose religious earnestness and high spirituality in the middle ages were to count for nothing. But Philippi frankly admits that some of these confessions went not so far as this. Article XIII. of the Apology says: "And yet, as God had His Church, that is, His secret saints, under Isaac and Judah, so He has preserved His Church, that is, some saints were under the Papacy, and the Christian Church did not utterly fail. As therefore Antichrist with his false worship will appear to remain until the Lord Christ shall openly come and judge him, yet all Christians should be warned to escape from such ungodliness." The *Antichristus orientalis*, as opposed to the *Antichristus occidentalis*, of many of the early dogmatists embarrasses our author; but he fights manfully his battle for the one all-absorbing Antichrist. "Individual persons are not in question, but a principle. That the Pope is Antichrist means only this, that the Papacy is consummated antichristianity; and from this no Lutheran should ever recede, nor give up one jot or tittle of it."

Dr. Philippi's exposition of the twentieth chapter, the solitary Scriptural basis of Millenarianism, well deserves careful study. He regards the binding of Satan as only relative, and only a restraint upon his deceiving the nations. After the thousand years he will be again let loose in order again to mislead the nations and to gather them together against the saints. Thus Satan had also before his binding seduced the Gentiles into war with God's people. This then must have taken place in the first centuries of the Christian Church, in the period of the bloody persecution of Christianity by heathenism. With the victory of Christianity over heathenism the thousand years' kingdom began; that is in the government of the universal Christian Church. Nor did the "Babylonian bondage" of the Papacy militate against this; for the supremacy of the Church continued in the maintenance of the Ecumenical creeds, of the Scriptures and the Sacraments, by means of which, even under the Papacy, children of God were born through faith. The thousand years are a great secular period, a day of God, with whom "a thousand years are but a day." That the "thousand years" are a long period of the world's history is plain from the antithesis of the "short time" (verse 3). While, therefore, all idea of number is not to be eliminated out of it, it is like all the

reckonings of the Apocalypse—three hours and a half, seven and ten—a symbolical number, as it is the expression of an indefinitely long period. Further, the seer beholds thrones, and those sate upon them to whom judgment was given; and the souls of the beheaded martyrs for the testimony of Jesus and the Word of God, with all who had not worshipped the beast or his image, and had not the sign of iniquity on their foreheads, lived and reigned with the Lord a thousand years. It is not expressly said who were seated on the throne: probably the four-and-twenty elders, after the analogy of the twelve apostles, Matt. xix. 28. The judgment is that decision which immediately follows death, the “judgment after death” of Heb. ix. 27. Those who after the sentence pronounced on them enter into glory are the martyrs of the time of the heathen persecution (compare chap. vi. 9, xi. 7), and those who in spite of all persecutions and all tribulation remained steadfast during the dominion of Antichrist (compare chap. xiii. 15-17), who are made prominent here as the leading representatives of the whole Church of God. They live and reign with Christ in heaven; for, of their dominion on earth nothing is said: the seer beholds, during the thousand years’ reign of the Church upon earth, the triumphant Church in heaven. The martyrs and believers successively entering heaven, and ruling there during the thousand years, are viewed as one whole, like the 144,000 of chap. vii. 4, xvi. 1.

It is then said that the rest of the dead lived not, until the thousand years were fulfilled: that is the first resurrection, ver. 5. The rest of the dead are the unbelievers and apostates generally, and especially those who accepted the dominion of the Antichrist during the millennial kingdom. They lived not: that is, they attained not to the “eternal life,” to the glory of heaven, which alone is worthy to be called true and absolute life; and they remained in death, for bodily death was not to them the transition into the blessedness of the other world, but to the misery beyond: compare Isa. xxvi. 14. But the “until” does not mean that upon the thousand years they did attain to life: it only specifies the *terminus ad quem* without presupposing that after the expiration of this term they experienced the opposite: compare “until the law,” Rom. v. 13. So far from living after the thousand years, they were then given over to the second death. The first



resurrection is the transition to the everlasting blessedness of heaven following immediately on bodily death. Consequently, the resurrection at the last day to glorified corporeity may be called the second resurrection; just as the misery following on bodily death is the first death, and the resurrection to judgment the second death. If the first resurrection was bodily rising to life, in ver. 6, it could not have been said that over those who were partakers of it the second death has no power; for that would be equivalent to saying that those who had risen to life will not rise to the judgment of death. It is also to be observed that in verses 4 and 5 it is only "lived," not "lived again," and that this "living" or "having everlasting life" is in ver. 4 predicated of the souls of the martyred; but it is not the *souls* but the *bodies* of the dead that attain a bodily resurrection. Further, were the first bodily resurrection of the righteous meant, the resurrection of the "rest of the dead," after the Millennium, would be the second general resurrection of the dead. But with this the "lived" of ver. 5 does not agree, which must have no other meaning than that assigned to the "lived" of ver. 4; it cannot refer to the general resurrection, or specially to that of the ungodly. This spiritual meaning of the word "resurrection" is strictly after the analogy of its usual spiritual significance. Compare John xiv. 19; Rom. vi. 5, viii. 11; Eph. v. 14, ii. 5, 6. And, as spiritual regeneration is called a resurrection to life, so that heavenly consummation may be so called: both being designated in Scripture as "life eternal."

This interpretation involves many difficulties, as indeed every interpretation does; but its difficulties are much less formidable than those which the mildest form of Millenarianism presents. The view of Kliefoth—who is among those who insist that the first resurrection must be a bodily one—is a striking one. According to it the first raised are the perfected saints of the last days, who by the power of the reappearing Lord are raised to bodily glorification to reign with Him. But transfiguration cannot by any means be regarded as resurrection. And then the thousand years of their dominion must necessarily be a very long interval, though not precisely a millennium, after which Satan is loosed, and the war of Gog and Magog breaks out against the saints in the city of Jerusalem, to end with the destruction of the last enemy through the second Parousia

of the Lord. But Kliefoth admits only *one* Parousia; and it is hard to see how after that there could be a final conflict, and that to be waged with glorified and therefore unconquerable foes. The clear argumentation against some other combinations of the two resurrections and the two comings carries to us certain conviction.

The benediction pronounced upon those who have part in the first resurrection, with the assurance that over them the second death has no power, comes next. They have the pledge that they shall be raised in body to life eternal at the judgment-day. They become priests of God and of Christ, and reign with Him a thousand years: this being itself the pledge spoken of. Believers are already upon earth kings and priests: but they become such in a higher sense and with a spiritual consummation when glorified in heaven; and they will become such in an absolute spiritual-bodily perfection in the new heaven and on the new earth. We are simply giving here the author's views, without entering upon the great difficulties of the subject, to some of which reference was earlier made. Other difficulties now emerge, connected with the profoundly mysterious interval that occurs before the final judgment. Philippi's interpretation goes back to a principle before laid down by him. We already found, in chap. xviii., that after the fall of the antichristian Papacy, which will be brought about by the omnipotent irreligious state, this itself will fall even more and more deeply into heathenism, and be dissolved into the waste mass of the social-democratic hosts in deadly opposition to Christianity. This is the Gog and Magog of our passage. The multitudinous hosts, representing at the end the heathenism that persecuted the little flock at the beginning, will be annihilated by the Lord at His final appearance. The little church is the city Jerusalem: not the "Jerusalem that now is" (Gal. iv. 26), but the Jerusalem from above" (Gal. iv. 36), which after the Parousia will be the "new Jerusalem" (Rev. xxi. 2). The judgment of the devil follows: for it he is now ripe; after having exhausted all his resources of temptation on the heathen world, on the worldly kingdom of antichristianity, and finally on the masses of the world become heathen again. "The Apocalypse in reality describes preeminently, and especially, only the war of heathenism with Christianity: but of heathenism in its threefold development. The last phase is when Christendom has utterly

lost the Christian elements which in the second phase had been retained, notwithstanding all apostasy: thus returning back to the first." Here Philippi sees the final illustration of the prospective of Apocalyptic prophecy. But the thought continually arises, while we attempt to adjust our version to it, that the Great Enemy, whom the manifestation of the Son of God will consume, is after all not the same as that earlier twofold Antichrist which Philippi has seen in Christian Rome. For that is dissolved as he says among the masses of perfectly heathenised Christendom. It must always be remembered that the Apocalypse does not use the term "Antichrist;" and that the descriptions of the Man of Sin, whether in Daniel or in St. Paul, are more suitable to some unknown power in the third of these "three phases" than to any embodiment of it in the second. But we have been chiefly intent on representing our author's views; and must return to the subject of millenarianism proper.

Dr. Philippi of course finds it necessary to defend his interpretation of chapter xx. from the Chiliasts, whose realism will be shocked by his spiritualising exposition. But he challenges their right to attack him on this ground, and enters into an elaborate examination of his opponent's principles. He asks how many consistent advocates of the realistic view are to be found, and where the Chiliasts are who really do maintain the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem, the re-establishment of the Old-Testament Levitical priesthood, and the restoration of the sacrificial economy, and other concomitants of this theory. Then, if all this is given up, and the passages referring to them must, [according to the analogy of New-Testament faith, be interpreted in a spiritual way, then the principle of this realism is broken down at the outset. After showing at some length that the Chiliasts are inconsistent in their treatment of the plain and the figurative language of Scripture, he proceeds in the following style:

"Luther once said that the Pope made that body which God had made spirit, and that Zwingli made that spirit which God had made body; most of our modern Chiliasts do both. They materialise the spiritual prophetic word, and spiritualise the clear and firm doctrine of Scripture, in cases where they think that it contains metaphysics and not mere history. Hence we find Subordinationism, Synergism, the Kenosis of the Logos, contention against vicarious satisfaction, confounding of qualification with

sanctification, degradation of the Word made subordinate to an exaggerated theosophical doctrine of the sacraments, and in short a radical breach with the Scriptural Lutheran Confession in all its articles, all enjoined and encouraged as the genuine development of doctrine on the ground of that very Confession. And it has come to be objected against the Anti-millennarians that they will not bow to the clear word of God ; the solution of the eschatological question, however, which was not the problem of the Reformation, the Chiliasts reserve for themselves as a private right. Holding this position to the formularies, it is of little importance to them to investigate whether Article XVII. of the Augsburg Confession excludes only the Anabaptist form of Chiliasm, or every other as well. Certainly it is the former that is immediately referred to, as that which was before the eyes of the Reformers. But, mediately or individually, that article condemned every form of it that was related to the former or in its issues the same with it. When Luthardt, in all essential points the interpreter of Hofmann's eschatology, teaches 'the future dominion of Jesus Christ and His glorified Church over the rest of mankind, as following upon the end of the present dispensation and the resurrection of the righteous,' his opinion is verbally condemned by the Article referred to: '*Damnant et alios qui nunc spargunt judaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubique oppressis impiis* : ' whether this oppression of the ungodly is accompanied by their being rooted out by the sword, or by the influence of the glorified Church of risen saints overpowering their unbelief. Our Article, moreover, denies that before the resurrection of the dead the saints will achieve a kingdom, and thereby excludes the Millennium in any form, inasmuch as it evidently knows of no more than *one* resurrection. The introduction of the Article runs: '*Item docent, quod Christus apparebit in consummationem mundi ad judicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam æternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur*.' "

This appeal to all orthodox Lutherans by their fidelity to their standards is very forcible. Philippi clearly shows that Chiliasm in all its forms is precluded by every one of them ; and that those who indulge their imaginations in devising means of reconciling the general tenour of Scripture with their literal interpretation of one particular passage have no sanction or encouragement in the formularies and dogmatic writers of the Reformation. But it is in vain for him to challenge his brethren's devotion to the older formularies. Many of the most eminent of the Lutheran

divines are Millenarians. They hold, as Philippi sorrowfully says, that this mystery was not committed to the solution of that age, and that it was reserved for more modern times to penetrate and unfold it. And what is true of Lutheran divines is true of many besides them. The Anglican Formularies from beginning to end are inconsistent with Millenarianism. But a very large body of the divines and commentators of the English Church hold the doctrine, though with numberless variations. Nor is there any other communion of Christians to be found which is wholly free. The temptation is great. The door thus opened admits to an infinite variety of fascinating speculations. But the danger is equally great. Philippi does not dwell much upon this. He does not enter into a thorough investigation of the points in which this eschatological scheme militates against right views of the hopes and duties and responsibilities of the Christian Church. Nor can we now even attempt to supply his defects. It will suffice to add another sentence to our quotations :

"The Apocalypse also conforms to the law of perspective presentation, and the complex character of Old-Testament prophecy. The predictions of the old economy contemplate a higher and lower redemption, deliverance from exile and entrance into the Messianic era, as one whole ; and, as to this latter, does not carefully distinguish the times of the kingdom of grace and the kingdom of glory. It exhibits the Messianic era under the figure of the consummation and glorification of the Old-Testament theocracy. This has had its spiritual fulfilment in the present kingdom of grace, and will have its literal fulfilment in the future kingdom of glory : not indeed in a theocratic form ; but in an absolutely perfect manifestation, adequate to the spiritual nature of the kingdom of grace. This is not a spiritualism to be rejected ; for we find even in the prophetic pictures concrete, real, historical facts of the past, present, and future ; and even the spiritual kingdom of grace is no *idea Platonica*. John Gerhard says : 'In this Locus the rule is to be repeated : as the prophets describe the worship of the New Testament by terms properly belonging to the legal worship of the Old Testament, and taken from it, so also they depict the spiritual kingdom of Christ in terms of human things derived from the state of the Church under the old economy, which therefore are to be typically and metaphorically explained. As the Apostles describe in words of this age the things of the age to come, so the Prophets describe in Old-Testament words the things of the New Testament.' Compare his whole Locus XXX. c. 7, and its thorough historical, ecclesiastical, and dogmatic refutation

of Chiliasm. Now, if neither the New-Testament writings, nor the prophetic words rightly understood, furnish any support to this system, Gerhard is right in calling it both *ἄγραφος* and *ἀντίγραφος*. However diligently men may attempt to mould it into conformity with the evangelical plan of salvation, Millenarianism at its best nourishes the hearts of men with visionary hopes, and tends to turn away their longings from the only hope that is established and found in the Word of God."

But we must close these observations on this specimen of Christian dogmatics. It is hardly indeed a dogmatic work, in the strictest sense, for much of it is occupied with the defence of the Lutheran standards against modern Lutherans. Philippi is among the last survivors of the old school; and it is evident, from the mournful severity of his polemics, that he is conscious of fighting a battle that is going against him. New dogmas, or phases of dogmas, on the Holy Trinity, Creation, the Original Sin, the Relation of the Son of God to His human nature, the nature of the Sacraments, the doctrine of justification by faith, the value of the Reformation, the Millennial Kingdom, and so forth, are appearing with ominous rapidity one after another. But, while such books as this find readers, and such teaching as Philippi's influences the German universities, there is no reason to despair of the theology of modern Lutheranism. We must not take leave of the volume without paying our tribute to its profound reverence for the Redeemer and His Holy Word. The last sentences of the volume are impressive in themselves, and doubly so as a final expression of the venerable author's farewell to his readers.

"The revelation committed to John is now finished; and he has now at the close of the whole book only to add its last attestation and his appeal on behalf of a practical application of it. The guarantee of the truth of the words of God that had been received as of the prophetic visions that had been vouchsafed, with the benediction of those who keep these words, are repeated anew; John once more makes the attempt to worship the angel who gives him these communications, but is once more withheld from this, and enjoined not to seal but to impart the prophetic teaching of this book, inasmuch as the time of its fulfilment was at hand. Whilst then, every man may act according to his own pleasure; the unrighteous may practise unrighteousness, the righteous practise righteousness; for soon will the Lord come and



reward every one according to his works ; the Lord who is the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End. Blessed will they be who have washed their robes that they may have right to come to the Tree of Life, and to enter by the gates into the city from which all the ungodly are excluded. Jesus Himself had sent His angel to testify this to the churches ; and the Spirit and the Bride say, Come ! And he that is athirst may come, and he that will may take of the water of life freely. But as to him who addeth anything to this book, or takes anything from it, God will add to him the plagues written in it, and take away his portion in the Tree of Life and the holy city. Yea, I come quickly, saith the Lord. Amen, come Lord Jesus ! responds the seer. The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all His saints ! In the highest dramatic style throughout this epilogue the angel, John, and the Lord Jesus Himself, enter as speaking responsively :

“ Volat avis sine meta,  
Quo nec vates nec propheta  
Evolavit altius ;  
Tam implenda quam impleta,  
Nunquam vidit tot secreta  
Purus homo purius.”

## LITERARY NOTICES.

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### I. THEOLOGICAL.

#### THE FERNLEY LECTURE FOR 1881.

*The Dogmatic Principle in Relation to Christian Belief: the Eleventh Lecture on the Foundation of the late John Fernley, Esq.* By the Rev. F. W. Macdonald. London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room. 1881.

IN our last number we paid a passing tribute to this lecture as one of the incidents of the late Conference; referring particularly to the success of the lecturer in enchainning the attention of a miscellaneous audience while he discoursed on a subject which it might seem no power could make popular. The discourse is now before us precisely as it was delivered, and the secret of that great success is evident enough. Mr. Macdonald has adopted such a method of dealing with his great subject as the nature of the Fernley Lectureship permitted. No one of his predecessors has more precisely caught the idea of the founder, and no one has more faithfully carried it out. We have here a theological essay, with the didactic and apologetic elements fairly represented; but it is a theological essay which is constructed with much skill for a congregation in which theologians proper form, by the very hypothesis, only a small part. A few degrees more of noble discussion, however able, would have spoiled the lecture; a few degrees more of rhetoric, however finished, would have spoiled the essay. The precision and delicacy with which the lecturer has hit the medium—in all cases of collision giving the lecture the advantage, as in duty bound—explains his undeniable success.

We have spoken of its "construction." There, it may be surmised, lay his great difficulty. If the discourse had set out with a discussion of the nature, limits, and difficulties of ecclesiastical authority in the settlement of the dogmatic faith, or with the use and abuse of the Dogmatic Principle in the history of Christendom, it is questionable if it would ever have emerged from that dense and tangled thicket. As it is, that subject is reserved

for the close ; and the hearer or reader comes to it, as it were, with a mind well fortified, and with a foregone conclusion that has been legitimately provided for him. Had the basis of the Dogmatic Principle—in the nature of Revelation, in the office of the Church, in the constitution of the human mind—been laid down at the outset, that would have presupposed more knowledge of the general bearings of the question than an average congregation could be expected to bring to the discussion. Hence, with a sure instinct, the lecturer opens with an introduction the one aim of which is to correct misconceptions, to disengage the word and the idea of dogma from its evil associations, and to explode many current fallacies as to the incompatibility between a free Gospel and a bound creed. These introductory pages may go too deeply into the lecture ; their length may have tended to the shortening of the discussion upon the true function of the Church as the “pillar and ground of the truth.” But of this we are not sure ; certainly the general effect of the whole seems to justify their length. It must not be understood, however, that the long exordium is merely a preparation of the hearers’ minds ; it does really contain the germs of all that is to come, as a good exordium should. For instance, let us take the following admirable sentences, detached, to their disadvantage, from the context :

“The term ‘simple Gospel,’ with its winning and beautiful associations, may be improperly used. That is the case when it is limited to such truths or aspects of truth as immediately and obviously bear on edification, to the exclusion of others equally though not so obviously essential. The truths which go to a complete setting forth of the Gospel are neither few nor altogether simple, as some men count simplicity. St. Paul may surely be taken as having preached the simple Gospel. His words to the Corinthians, ‘I determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified,’ are often quoted as the very watchword of the Gospel ministry. Yet it lay within an office thus rigorously limited to set forth the Doctrine of Christ’s Person,—incarnate and pre-incarnate,—of sin in its relation to the race and to the individual, of redemption under many aspects, of justification, regeneration, and sanctification, of salvation as administered by God, and as appropriated and experienced by man, of Christian ethics, of resurrection and judgment, and the life to come. Are these truths simple ?” . . . “To answer these many questions single passages of Scripture will not suffice. The comparison and analysis of many Scriptures will be required, and even then it will be found that Scripture furnishes premises which compel us to advance to conclusions, and terms must be devised on which such conclusions must be embodied and expressed. Thus we may be far on our way to a dogmatic theology before we are well aware. We have defined and formulated in

spite of ourselves. And, as a matter of fact, the depreciators of dogma are not able to get away from it, or do without it. It underlies their thoughts, it gives coherence and unity to their beliefs, it supplies the foundation and premisses of their teaching, and moulds their very phraseology."

These cunningly devised sentences contain the pith of the whole subject. And, as they are expanded in the pages that follow, the thoughts contained in them carry irresistible conviction to the mind. The reader feels that St. Paul—for he is naturally brought into court, and brought into it alone, though the other apostles might have been brought in with him—is responsible for a great portion of what we call "Dogmatic Theology," that the New Testament was expressly written in the foresight and prevision of its labours, and that, in fact, we could not do without it on any terms. In fact, so well is this done that we begin to wonder why there should ever have been an outcry against the systematisation of religious truth. And a writer on the "Dogmatic Principle" who accomplishes this feat at the very outset, who creates a warm sympathy with the thesis he is about to support, or at least contrives to annihilate everything like obstinate prejudice against it, shows himself to be a master of his craft. This the lecturer has done.

As our readers will have the little book in their hands, and will read it for themselves, we shall not analyse any further. Nor shall we exercise the critical faculty in finding, or seeking to find, faults. What has been already said may be repeated: there is no fault in this discourse when it is regarded as having discharged a double function, that of popularly exhibiting an important theological principle. A better treatment of the subject under these conditions we, for our part, can hardly imagine. But to return to the "construction." It might seem, to a merely logical critic, that the grounds of the necessity of dogmatic definition should have been in an inverted order, or at any rate in some way rearranged. Here we thought we had found a "blot," and something that would save our notice from the dulness of unqualified commendation. First, do not the very faculties which are used in the acquisition of all knowledge demand the orderly arrangement of whatever truth it attain, or supposes itself to attain? Does not Revelation, which is here regarded as Divine, present materials which it is supposed the Author of Revelation intended men to study, arrange, and pursue into their endless deductions, just as He intended them to arrange and classify the knowledge of nature and turn it to account? And has He not committed His revelation to the keeping and protection of His Church, as a fellowship of students under the guidance of the Spirit and responsible to Him? But, on reconsideration, we think our lecturer in the right. His aim is to vindicate, not the dogmas of the Faith, but

the dogmatic *principle*; and, with the sure instinct of an orator, he reserves his most effective argument for the last. He would defend his arrangement briefly thus: "We have a revelation which is Divine, but comparatively unarranged until the fulness of time; when the fulness of time has come, its divers portions are perfected into one whole, still more or less unarranged, and consequently the Christian people who receive it must needs make their theology; and that they have done so is justified by the strong demands of the human mind, the constitution of which will have all its knowledge in the form of what may be called scientific knowledge."

Mr. Macdonald has touched, and indeed more than touched, the question of the historical evolution of this principle. Its relations to Romanism and Rationalism he has not exhaustively treated; nor indeed do they fairly come within the scope of his lecture. He might very well have confined himself to his "dogmatic principle" as a law of organised truth, and the application of it by which the Holy Spirit administers the Christian Church. He administers it in the universal Church; "the authority of the Christian Church as a whole, in its testimony to the main articles of Christian belief is, as we have said, overwhelmingly powerful." He does not entirely cease to administer it; even when in the hands of fallible and deceived men it seems to issue in the greatest dogmatic errors. The dogmatic principle has been secretly and surely used by the Spirit from the beginning to continue that glorious system of truth which is within the scaffolding of human creeds and confessions; a true confession within them all, and which the worst of them is made to subserve.

The honour done to the Holy Spirit in this devout and faithful Lecture is not the least of its excellences. "The truth itself, its character and potency, or the witness of the Spirit in and through and with the truth, is the last, best, highest authority. 'It is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is the Truth.' 'He that believeth in the Son of God hath the witness in himself.'" The collocation of these two passages shows what was in the lecturer's mind, though here at the very close of his discourse he has done no more than suggest his thought. Amid all the conflicts of opinion, and the errors which add to the "dogmatic truth," or take from it, the true Christian in whom the Son lives has his own dogmatic system without him. By a blessed logical sequence he passes from truth to truth, taught by the Spirit concerning whom the Saviour said, "He shall *guide* you unto all the truth," leading every man into all the avenues which lead to it, or rather guiding the individual subjective deductions of every humble spirit that receives the objective truth in its Biblical principles.

This impression of the Discourse will doubtless soon be exhausted. In a second edition the author might well add a series

of illustrative notes which should give evidence of the extent to which the "dogmatic principle" has been used and abused in the several Confessions of Christendom, and of the homage that is actually paid to it by all systems of Christian teaching, and not least by those that seem to disparage it most.

#### OWEN'S EVENINGS WITH THE SKEPTICS.

*Evenings with the Skeptics; or, Free Discussion on Free Thinkers.*

By John Owen, Rector of East Anstey, Devon. Vols. I. and II. Longmans, Green, and Co. London. 1881.

A REVIEWER has no right to find fault with the way in which an author chooses to present his thoughts to the public. It is his business to regard the "writer's end," and to estimate, as fairly as possible, the worth of the work done. At the same time, a reviewer may be permitted to grumble with an author's method, if, in his opinion, there be in it anything essentially unsuited to the nature of the discussion to a consideration of which he is invited. Mr. Owen, following Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, has put his ideas about "skepticism" into the mouths of several persons, and we have some difficulty in knowing which of them he means to be regarded as the representative of the author. The title of the work may slightly mislead; at all events its first effect upon our mind was misleading. We expected to find an account of evenings spent in either listening to, or dealing with, the arguments of popular skeptics; so we are introduced to a work intended "to fill, however imperfectly," what its author considers "a gap in the history of philosophy"! Mr. Owen thinks that in existing histories of philosophy "thinkers of all kinds are huddled together without any regard to intellectual affinities or similarities," and he has attempted to classify and subdivide "philosophers according to their psychological idiosyncrasies." Taking as two leading types of character, those in which respectively "constructive or disintegrating instincts preponderate," our author seeks to survey the history of philosophy from the skeptical standpoint. In other words, Mr. Owen would give us a view of the progress of human thought from the standpoint of inquiry or freethought. The idea is a good one; it has been carried out in other departments, as is well known; instance, Vaughan's work on *Mysticism*, or Lange's *History of Materialism*, not to mention others. We must, however, remember Mr. Owen's definition of the word skepticism; like his spelling, this is not the popular one. He uses skepticism in its ancient sense, as implying *continuous search*, and so much of *suspense* as "is needful as an incentive to search." Hence the skeptic is not the "denier or dogmatic negationist" he is commonly held to be. . . . He is the



indomitable, never-tiring searcher after truth; possibly one who believes, at least one who affects search more than he does absolutely definitive attainment." Again: "The true skeptic may be defined as the seeker after the absolute," &c. As will be seen, our author sets before him no less an ambition than to give, from a new standpoint, a survey of the history of human thought and of philosophy. For this task he appears not unfitted, so far as learning and love of truth are concerned. He is evidently familiar with the best works on philosophy, both in ancient and modern languages. He has devoted to his theme much patient study, and in these volumes we have the results of earnest thinking as well as wide reading. We do not agree with our author's estimate of his *modus operandi*. In our opinion, there is something essentially foreign to a grave study of the history of philosophy in the introductory conversations recorded. Practically, the work consists of a series of studies on leading thinkers, each study introduced, and closed, by a free conversation among a few friends who have agreed to devote their evenings to a study of ancient and modern skepticism. The principal *dramatis personæ* are a retired physician, a clergyman of the Broad Church school, a "well-known member of the English bar" who is fond of philosophy, and two or three ladies given to the study of deep subjects. The largest number of the papers are read by Dr. Trevor, a few by the learned lawyer, and the other members of the club supply the needful comments and introductory suggestions. The difficulty to an author in the use of such a method is very great, for in addition to the qualifications of a profound philosopher, he requires those of a novelist, in order consistently to keep up the character of his leading speakers. In this respect we question the success of our author's experiment. At the same time, we feel bound to admit that he has produced a very readable book, and on the whole has done his work better than might have been expected under the conditions he has imposed on himself.

Taking first, a general survey of the work, we may say that our philosophical friends spend twelve evenings together, and discuss the following subjects: the first evening is devoted to the general subject of skepticism, to a definition of the word, and a discussion, by Dr. Trevor, of the "causes." The second evening is devoted to a study of Greek skepticism. After the usual conversation, Dr. Trevor discourses on the principal Greek thinkers, such as Xenophanes, Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Herakleitos, Demokritos, and the three chief Sophists, Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodikos. On the third evening we are introduced to Sokrates and the Sokratic schools, Dr. Trevor again being the essayist. Sokrates and the Sokratic method has here the chief place. The fourth evening is occupied with the post-Sokratic

skepticism, from Pyrrhôn to Sextus Empeirikos, the latter thinker being Dr. Trevor's ideal skeptic. On the fifth evening they deal with Hebrew and Hindu skepticism, and with this the first volume closes. To it, we may say, are added some valuable appendices, giving in *Greek* the principal words expressive of doubt and skepticism, &c. The second volume opens with a discussion of what is termed "twofold truth." May there be, legitimately, contradictory views held, say on religion and philosophy? As instances of thinkers who either exemplify or lean to this opinion, Mansel, Faraday, Dr. Newman, and others, are brought forward. The seventh evening is devoted to the relation of Christianity to freethought; the eighth to what is called the skepticism of St. Augustine; the ninth to the schoolmen: Erigena, Abelard, and Aquinas; the tenth to William of Ockam; the eleventh to Raymund of Sabunde, a writer but little known, we fear; the twelfth and last to Cornelius Agrippa and his "occult" philosophy. It will be seen from the above that Mr. Owen goes over an immense tract of territory, and discusses problems of no ordinary magnitude and interest. Space entirely precludes any proper discussion of the way in which he handles his important theme. Turning to aspects of his work of a more popular character, we may say that he divides Hebrew skepticism into four *phases* or *stages*. The first is marked by the "occasional expressions of discontent and inquiry which we find in the Psalms and historical books;" the second stage is presented by the Book of Job. The Hebrew typical skeptic is Job; the "dogmatists" Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. But is it not a fact that Job and his friends entertain, at bottom, the self-same views of Divine Providence, only that under the influence of personal suffering Job is made to *feel* their insufficiency? The third stage or phase of "Hebrew skepticism affirms consciously and deliberately that all knowledge is hurtful, and that the highest ideal of human blessedness is to be found in complete and unqualified ignorance." Mr. Owen, or Dr. Trevor, into whose mouth this argument is put, identifies this stage with the "beautiful legend of the Fall." We much question, indeed entirely dissent from the view here presented, and think this subject requires a much fuller discussion. The fourth stage is presented by the Book of Ecclesiastes, which is said to represent as *practice*, what the previous stage gives in *ideal*. This book, therefore, "represents the extreme point which Hebrew skepticism, aided probably by foreign influences, succeeded in reaching," &c. But for a deeper contribution to the study of both "Koheleth" and the Book of Job, we beg to refer our readers to Lange's *Commentary on the Old Testament*, published (in translation) by Clark. In this the late lamented Professor Taylor Lewis, of America, discusses the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes with an ability most conspicuous, and with profound

learning and tenderest sympathy. The subject is too large for treatment in this brief notice. We commend Professor Lewis to the author of *Evenings with Skeptics*. In his deeply interesting pages will be found a truer philosophy of this matter.

In his discussion of the relation of Christianity to Freethought, Mr. Owen seems to us to give countenance to various ideas that are not worthy of being accepted. "Dr. Trevor" agrees with Bunsen that Jesus commenced the "precise operation" of translating the "Semitic into the Japhetic," and that this is one of the great needs of our time. In our estimate, there is too much tendency to ignore what may be called the distinctively Semitic element; to represent, in short, the various races as bringing their contribution to the common stock of "revelation," and thus giving to the Semitic only a place among the many—unique perhaps, but not distinctively so—in any real sense. We must start from our Lord's teaching that "salvation is of the Jews;" and whatever "philosophy of history," we may give or follow, we must not lose the definite and distinct meaning of these words. There seems to us a strong tendency, even in Christian circles, to ignore the place of the Jew in the Divine dispensation; and when this is ignored, *Revelation*, instead of being explained, is too often explained away.

Again we join issue with Mr. Owen as to the definition of Christianity he puts into the mouth of Harrington, viz., "the life and words of Christ." Indeed, to our way of thinking, the whole chapter on the "Relation of Christianity to Free Thought" is unsatisfactory in the extreme. Even if we allow that, in relation to some of the beliefs of His time, Christ was a skeptic or freethinker, yet this method of dealing with His life and work must be defective. And Harrington seems to us utterly to fail in his exposition of the relation of Christ to the Messianic ideas and hopes of the prophets. We must distinguish between the popular beliefs of Christ's time, and the *inspired teachings* of Old Testament prophets; so must we distinguish between Christ's "church" and His "kingdom;" whereas in Harrington's paper "kingdom of heaven" is the "name of the society Christ came to form." In this same paper a distinction seems to be drawn between Christ's teachings and the "utterances assigned to Him in the Gospels;" but if once we begin to separate in this way between elements found in the same work, we shall ultimately be setting up a *subjective* standard fatal to all *objective* revelation. Hence we strongly suspect and protest against such sentences as the following put into the mouth of Harrington: "The words of Christ, *divested of the Jewish prepossessions and hierarchical aspirations of the Gospel writers*, provide me with aliment sufficient for," &c., &c.

One difficulty for a critic in Mr. Owen's method is the

impossibility of being sure whether "Harrington," "Trevor," "Arundel," or any of the others, are to be held as giving the author's opinions, or whether we are to regard the whole as simply aspects of truth and free conversations on important themes. If an author speaks *ex cathedra*, we may at least be sure that we have his opinions whatever they are worth; but when there are various speakers, and differing opinions, we are in doubt. In Browning's *Ring and the Book*, for example, we have one half Rome, the other half Rome, and also a *tertium quid*; here we see that different aspects and possible explanations are given. Our author, no doubt, has his dogmas on all points of free inquiry. Throughout the essay on which we are commenting, and also in other parts of the book, we find a distinction drawn between what we may term *primary* and *derivative* Christianity. The teaching, *ex. gr.*, of the Sermon on the Mount seems to be taken as giving the essence of Christ's teaching to man. But is this a fair view of the case? Granting that we have there the *germ* and *spirit* of Christ's teaching, we cannot admit that we have either the whole of the truth He came to reveal, or even its most *distinctive elements*. Towards the close of our Lord's ministry there is a perceptible change, and we find a deeper truth taught than in its earlier stages. This is to be expected, seeing that at first His disciples would not be "able to bear" all He had to say. Moreover, we have in the epistles an inspired and authoritative comment on the Lord's lessons, and hence we must do justice to the whole as well as to the earlier parts. Want of space forbids our discussing, as we should like to do, this question. Yet we cannot refrain from protesting against a view of the Gospel history which seems to us so unsatisfactory, and which, every other consideration apart, lands us in still greater intellectual difficulties than the one for which it is substituted. Having thus exercised a reviewer's right of complaint both against the validity of some of our author's conclusions and the mode in which he has presented them to the world, it is both our duty and our pleasure to say that we have read with much interest, and we trust with profit, these able essays. As "Dr. Trevor" says in his closing words: "Parmenides and Athenagoras have been with us. We have sat at the feet of Sokrates, and have experienced the torpedo-shock of his *Elenchus*. We have also heard the teachings of Job and Koheleth, of Kapila, and Sakhya Muni. We have had the hallowed presence of Jesus Christ, and by personal communication with some of the most distinguished of his followers, have learned their appreciation of Christian freedom as opposed to ecclesiasticism. From Ockam, Raymund of Sabunde, and Agrippa, we have acquired other lessons and incentives to freethought," &c. In this long survey we have met with many gems of thought and many fruitful suggestions. The idea of the book is good. Sur-

veying the thought of the ages from a definite standpoint, we reach much that is worthy, and we also learn how much need we have for wider sympathies and more generous aspirations. We had marked several passages for comment and citation, but we have left ourselves no space. The account given of the "causes of skepticism" is at once thorough and philosophical; the history of Sokrates contains much that is thought-suggesting, both as to the work of the man, and its unsettling tendencies on the age in which he lived. We have not before met with so full and so fair an account of how the teaching of Sokrates must have appeared *to the men who condemned him*. The essay on St. Augustine is also very interesting; whether Mr. Owen does justice to Calvin in his strong protests against the burning of Servetus, may be questioned. We must judge the actions of men by the standards of the age in which they lived rather than by the standards of our own time. Certainly he does well to point out the connection between the great Father of the Church and the Presbyterian of Geneva. The mother of Augustine, in Mr. Owen's picture, is hardly the pure saint she generally appears in popular writings. She is shown to have had a shrewd eye to her distinguished son's future *in this life*, as well as to his eternal destiny, and at times she appears to have almost *lent to his vices* in order to promote his worldly success. All this and much more is well illustrated in Mr. Owen's pleasant pages. When he writes continuously, we follow him with deeper interest; it is when the conversation between the "philosophers" begins, that we find it difficult to keep up the judicial state of mind needed for such an inquiry. This, in our opinion, is an illustration of the non-adaptation of the conversational method to severe philosophical exposition. It is too "jerky" and too fragmentary for such subjects. We take leave of Mr. Owen with the sincere hope that he may yet find time and strength to fulfil the promise made in the closing words of his last volume.

#### MALLESON'S ACTS AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.

*The Acts and Epistles of St. Paul.* By the Rev. F. A. Malleson, M.A., Vicar of Broughton-in-Furness. London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 596.

IN the preface Mr. Malleson thinks it necessary to offer some explanation of his reasons for writing this book, seeing that the ground had already been so fully occupied by Conybeare and Howson, Mr. Lewin and Canon Farrar. Though several pages are devoted to this purpose, the reasons are much the same as those assigned by Paul's first biographer for writing the Gospel which bears his name: "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set

forth in order" the life of St. Paul, it seemed good to him also to do the same. He was not satisfied with the labours of some of his predecessors, and very naturally wished that the great Apostle of the Gentiles should be viewed in the light of his own "school of thought." He is a High Churchman of the old-fashioned type, and has made the attempt in this volume to measure the Apostles and the Primitive Church by the Anglican standards in which he himself believes. We shall try to give our readers the opportunity of judging how far he has succeeded; but before doing so we may say at once that, apart from his ecclesiastical views, he possesses some excellent qualifications for the work he has undertaken. The evidences of ripe scholarship are everywhere apparent, and his thorough familiarity with the history, geography, and physical characteristics of the countries which were the scenes of Paul's labours, renders him a pleasant companion in following the Apostle's journeyings by land and by sea. The pictures presented to the mind are often vivid and fascinating, and, on the whole, the narrative and descriptive parts of the work are very well done; but the other portions have many defects and blemishes. Some of these lie on the surface, and might be easily removed; others of them, we fear, are deeply ingrained, and could only be eradicated by a complete change of view—almost a change of nature—in the author himself. True, he is a staunch Protestant, and a zealous defender of the essential truths of Christianity. The Divinity and Atonement of Christ, the Personality and Deity of the Holy Ghost, the doctrines of human depravity, justification by faith, the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and the eternal duration of future rewards and punishments, are all freely and boldly upheld by him; and, though it was not distinctly his original design, it became his settled purpose, as his work advanced, to repel the assaults of M. Renan on the character of Paul and the other Apostles. Against the errors of Popery, also, he felt bound to enter a frequent and earnest protest; and on many points he dissents from Canon Farrar's views. The Ritualists, Calvinists, Baptists, and Nonconformists of all kinds are likewise visited with impartial condemnation; but he warns his readers not to regard his book as controversial. His object was to write a continuous history; and the narrative is only interrupted by such "reflexions" as were called up by passing words and events.

His attacks on the Nonconformists are of the usual kind. Referring to the fact that the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch, he says: "In our times, as soon as some little insignificant sect has sprung up out of some new form of fanaticism, no time is lost in distinguishing it by some high-sounding name. In England and Wales we have no less than 172 descriptions of places of religious worship certified and declared by the Registrar



General" (p. 113). He has apparently forgotten that in the Apostolic age Christianity itself was "a sect everywhere spoken against," and that the High Churchmen of that day did their best to extinguish it. On page 417 he also says: "Exactly as in modern times any petty divergence of views from the opinions held by the Church of their fathers affords sectarians an excuse for branching off into another so-called Church; and a sect is presently formed, the prolific source, possibly, of other sects yet." Elsewhere he admits that we owe our freedom and love of liberty mainly to the Reformation; and as a Protestant he should appreciate the fact that whilst the Established Church has oscillated frequently between Protestantism and Popery during the last three hundred and fifty years, the sturdy Protestantism of the country has grown up largely outside its pale. In its backward swing towards Popery it inevitably leaves the bulk of the nation behind it.

We should gladly overlook an occasional fling at "the sects," however, if we were satisfied with Mr. Malleon's work as a whole; but we think it will become abundantly clear as we proceed that his High Churchism renders him an unsafe guide in nearly everything that relates to Primitive Christianity. He can see nothing but prelacy in the original constitution of the Christian Church. The Apostolic office answers to the modern order of "Missionary Bishops." Timothy was "consecrated" Bishop of the "diocese" of Ephesus; and Crete was the "diocese" of Titus; and "the Bishop of Jerusalem" is sometimes spoken of quite as a matter of course, without any mention of James's name. The author also lends countenance to the fable that Paul consecrated Publius, or some other man, as Bishop of Malta. The meeting of Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem to take into consideration the case of the Gentile converts is the model on which the Anglican Convocation is based; but he regrets that Convocation has not power to pass decrees like the Church at Jerusalem, and adds: "That the age has retrograded in this respect instead of advancing, may but too easily be inferred from the fact that the Church of England is not trusted with the power of independent legislation" (p. 193). He must feel acutely the fact that of the 173 churches in Great Britain, the Established Church is the only one which is not permitted to manage its own affairs. The separation of Barnabas and Saul for a special mission, and the subsequent appointment of Timothy, represent "the first Ember Days;" "the Apostles and Elders" mentioned four times in Acts xv. correspond exactly with "our terms bishops and curates, or bishops, priests, and deacons;" Paul's farewell address at Miletus is the model of an "episcopal charge;" Peter's address in the house of Cornelius is "like an expansion of the Apostle's Creed;" and we are cautioned that no argument

against "precomposed forms of prayer" must be drawn from the fact that Paul and his companions prayed on the shore at Cæsarea and Miletus, "as none but the blindest zealot would object to extemporary prayer in *exceptional places*"! (p. 470). Do the bishops and clergy, who complain that they are not allowed to legislate, feel it to be no hardship that they are not allowed to pray? The visit of Paul and Barnabas to the brethren in every place where they had preached the Word "doubtless laid the foundation of episcopal visitations" (p. 210). Paul and Luke remained behind at Philippi to spend the days of unleavened bread, "which were gradually becoming the fast of Good Friday and the feast of Easter" (p. 498). Many of the foregoing may be regarded as harmless conceits, but they show the determination of the author to crush down everything apostolic into the Anglican mould.

Mr. Malleon also holds high views of sacramental efficacy. "Baptism incorporates with Christ. By baptism, that saving grace is imparted which removes the curse of original sin; and baptism, by the entrance of the Holy Ghost, gives those powers to the soul which dispose it towards newness of life, and breathe into it the love of God, and the keen, ever-stirring desire to live according to His will" (p. 499); and this is held to be true of baptised infants, as well as of those who *believe* and are baptised. When Paul and Silas were in the house of the Philippian jailor, "*He* washed them from their blood. *They* washed him and his household from their sins in the waters of baptism, the laver of regeneration; not only he (*sic*), but all his—an expression which leaves us free to imagine a family of children and domestic slaves" (p. 264). Speaking of the twelve converts at Ephesus he says that Paul had the same power as the other Apostles to confer the Holy Ghost by the imposition of hands, "but though those special gifts of speaking with tongues and of prophecy . . . passed away when the occasion ceased, the inward personal benefits, the enlightenment of the Divine Spirit, and the guiding into all truth, have remained permanently attached to and connected with the rite of Confirmation" (p. 396). By a singular oversight he attributes the possession of this power by Paul to "his having seen the Lord on the way to Damascus," and he thereby cuts off all post-apostolic bishops from participation in it. He forgets also that the Holy Ghost was conferred by "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" and that Paul received the gift through Ananias, who is not even called a presbyter, but only "a devout man."

The foregoing are a few of the evidences of High Churchism scattered through the book, and we think it will be admitted that they give us a perverted view of the apostolic age. We must now notice the estimate which Mr. Malleon has formed of the

character of the Apostles. Passing over the injustice done to James and Peter, we will give one instance of his failure to appreciate the lofty character of Barnabas, and some rather startling statements with reference to the character of Paul. It is true that Barnabas is held up to our admiration as "just the kind of man we love to meet with in our best English society;" and many other things are said in his praise; but what are we to make of the following? When Paul, "perhaps not without mis-giving," asked Barnabas to accompany him on his second mission journey, "Barnabas was troubled in mind . . . (he was) thrown into the shade . . . by the rapid growth of a greater and more majestic spirit than his own. He felt that, from having been one of the chief of the Apostles, he had now undeservedly gone down into the second rank, a mere follower of and minister to Paul. It was no longer 'Barnabas and Paul,' but 'Paul and Barnabas.' He was in a strait, and as one way of relieving himself the thought came into his mind to take at least one with him who would naturally look up to *him*, and that he should not be always reminded of his inferiority" (pp. 211-2). Of all the possible explanations of the conduct of Barnabas, the author has selected the one which places him in the most unfavourable light. Is it not more likely that he was actuated solely by kindly feelings towards his nephew Mark, and that it was merely an error of judgment on his part to wish to take one whom Paul considered unfit for his work? But what is our author's estimate of the "more majestic spirit" of Paul? "Perhaps he was hasty, quick, imperious; perhaps in his impetuous moods he was apt to speak with more energy and peremptoriness than is quite acceptable to one who justly looks upon himself as his equal. Some go so far as to declare that Paul's haughty and ever-increasing pretensions must have been perfectly unendurable. We cannot subscribe to such an opinion; but that he was as impetuous as he was affectionate, and as domineering as he was politic, we have not much doubt" (p. 212). "Paul had two causes of irritation and anger. For a man born to command to see his officers bow to another influence than his own is at all times intolerable. Peter had yielded before James; Barnabas had succumbed to the influence of Peter; and now he felt Mark was to be taken to make weight against himself. Was this to be borne?" . . . "There was a very paroxysm of long pent-up anger and wrath between these two eminent Christian men" (pp. 212-3). There are many other passages equally objectionable. The author admires him for "rather lording it over" the Philippian magistrates, and thinks that in asserting his rights as a Roman citizen "he desired to mark publicly his sense of the indignity done to that high character." We had always supposed that the Apostle claimed a public acquittal for the Gospel's sake; but, the author adds,

"There is in this much of the spirit of what we rightly call the modern gentleman in Paul?" (p. 265). Again, Mr. Malleson says: "Let us, therefore, look with sympathy and human feeling upon the spectacle of Peter, weak, temporising, vacillating, and dissimulating; and Paul, 'touched with noble anger,' wrathfully indignant, boiling over with fervent passion, at a sight which in his sincerity and straightforwardness he looked upon as a disgrace to the Christian Church" (p. 207). There is not the slightest warrant in Scripture for the use of such language, and we appeal to it as conclusive evidence that Mr. Malleson lacks two essential qualities for his work—a sound judgment and a loving spirit. It is true that the author says "there was a perfection of beauty in Paul's character to entirely and completely forgive, to crush and destroy all animosity, and even the last trace of unkind feeling" (p. 208); but if Paul were all that Mr. Malleson asserts, would it not be better if we knew a little less about him? High Church exigencies require that "a Wilberforce, a Selwyn, a Patteson" should be regarded as his modern counterparts, and it is easier to bring him down to their level than to elevate them to his.

Under our author's guidance we have yet to look at Paul in another aspect of his many-sided character. Referring to the leading women of Thessalonica, who helped to establish the Gospel there, Mr. Malleson says, "Paul's severity and his hard reproofs were tempered by a tenderness, a gentleness, which not his infirmities, not his unsightly afflictions, could mar for a moment. There are men, the sweetness of whose nature is only enhanced by the very want of those personal attractions which nature has denied them. Sometimes these men possess powerful advantages even over those more handsomely endowed outwardly, and true women are the first to feel the superior charm and influence of the intellect over the attractions of the person" (p. 277). There is a good deal of this feeble moralising in the book, of which we shall give only one other specimen. In comparing the Olympic games with English athletic sports, he says: "It is easy to detect the effects of the higher and ennobling influences of Christianity, and the civilisation which springs from true religion. With us the contest is never continued on the ground. In fair fight the fallen competitor neither gives nor receives a single blow!" (p. 298); so that we must add to the latest triumphs of Christianity the amenities of modern pugilism.

The book has been too hastily produced. By turning over his MS. to juvenile amanuenses, and allowing his friends to revise the proofs, he threw away two opportunities of improving his work. Who is responsible for the misquotation of our Saviour's words in Matt. xv. 24, "He was not sent to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel," instead of "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" and for the word "immortality"

instead of "immorality" on page 279? If the author had made his own fair copy for the press would he have written such sentences as the following? "It is to be regretted that in the Authorised Version we have in this grand speech *no less than at least* six deviations from a true translation" (p. 308). "In a somewhat *unusual* manner, St. Paul opens without the *usual* personal address, 'brethren,' which is only once *used*" (p. 454). Paul's farewell address at Miletus "divides itself naturally into a *retrospection of the past, a review of the present, and a prospect of the future*" (p. 454). When Paul spoke from the castle steps at Jerusalem "the whole scene was enacted again of tearing and pulling, of shaking and flinging up and down of clothes, and making clouds of dust fill the air with throwing it up by handfuls"! (p. 501).

A thorough revision would remove some serious blemishes from what, with all its High Church narrowness, will always be a readable book.

#### ROGERS'S CHURCH SYSTEMS OF ENGLAND.

*The Church Systems of England in the Nineteenth Century. The Sixth Congregational Lecture.* By J. Guinness Rogers, B.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1881.

As an estimate of the different sections of Protestant Christianity from a Nonconformist standpoint, the present volume is a fitting pendant to Canon Curteis's *Bampton Lecture* on "Church and Dissent" of a few years back. In culture and general finish the Nonconformist lecturer is fully the equal of the Anglican dignitary, and in vigour, in breadth of treatment, in desire to dispense evenhanded justice, he is even superior. Mr. Rogers never fails in courtesy. If he sometimes fails in discrimination, it is in generous appreciation of views which he does not share. His own views are pronounced enough, and they are by no means concealed. They are tersely summed up in the words: "The inequalities of nature and grace we meekly accept, the inequalities of culture we regret, the inequalities of holy Christian service we will, with God's blessing, seek to redress; but against the inequalities which the State creates we protest as unrighteous, as contrary to the law of Christ, and as hindrances to the spread of His kingdom." Yet this frankness is combined with catholicity and courtesy of the best type. Even Churchmen may learn much from the view taken of different parties in the English Church by an outsider whose independence of judgment, thorough study of the subject in hand, and gift of exposition, cannot fail to command respect. That the present will be one of the most popular of the series, there can be little doubt. The subject is fresh; the pages teem with criticisms of contemporary characters

and events ; the style is eminently interesting, although perhaps tending somewhat to diffuseness.

Of the thirteen Lectures composing the volume, six are devoted to the different schools of Anglicanism. This proportion is no mean tribute to the position and influence of the Established Church of England. At the same time it must be remembered, as Mr. Rogers does not fail to point out, that the three schools in the English Church are practically three Churches, their only bond of union being the artificial one of State-connection. The Evangelical school is far nearer to Nonconformity in doctrinal belief and general sympathy than to either of the other two schools. To the great services of the English Church to the nation, to its learning and scholarship, to the dignity of its forms, and the high character of its ministers, Mr. Rogers does full justice. His criticisms, both of the distinctive features and what he considers the defects of the several schools, are full of interest. Some of his severest strictures are reserved for the Evangelical school. His quarrel with the High-Church and Ritualist school, indeed, is on the deeper ground of truth and principle. But the inconsistency, the unfaithfulness to principle, which he sees in the Evangelical school, moves him to something like anger, which again and again finds strong expression. That the lead has passed from Evangelical to High-Churchman, if not to Ritualist, must be sorrowfully confessed. The cause will be variously estimated. Mr. Rogers finds it chiefly in the determination of the former to preserve the State-connection at all costs. He contrasts the conduct of Evangelicals in this respect with that of the founders of the Free Church of Scotland. On the other hand, it would have been a questionable gain to leave the power and resources of the Church in the hands of the other parties.

The lecturer's most fundamental difference is with High-Churchism and Ritualism. The narrowness, the intolerance, the assumptions of the latter system are exposed without mercy. He says, "The fundamental principle of Episcopalianism is the authority of the bishop, but the first maxim of the Ritualist is his own right to ignore this authority should the bishop advise a course contrary to the wishes or opinions of his own subordinates. Of all systems Episcopalianism gives the least room for the exercise of mere individualism, but the Ritualist view makes individualism supreme. Its advocates may be greatly shocked by such a suggestion, and insist that they bow to the authority of the Catholic Church ; but they are only deceived by words. When a man undertakes to set up his own standard of catholicity, and to give his own interpretation to its decrees, he may fancy he is bowing to authority, but the authority he acknowledges is only the reflection of his own private judgment." "Men whose principles altogether preclude the exercise of private judgment set up



their private interpretation as supreme, and hide this ugly fact by treating their own fancies as the decisions of the Catholic Church." The Dr. Newman of forty years ago "had not received the new light which has dawned upon this generation, that the best mode in which the clergy can uphold the authority of the episcopate, is to obey their own will and follow the devices and desires of their own clerical heart."

Mr. Rogers might be supposed to be in closer sympathy with the Broad school, but he is by no means blind to the weakness and vagueness of their position. To us one of the most interesting lectures in the volume is the second, on "Religious Liberalism in its Influence on Church Polity." The whole lecture is occupied in pointing out the perils of the liberal tendency in fostering latitudinarianism of belief, merging creed in conduct, and undervaluing theological science. The two lectures on "The Tractarian Struggle" and "The Church and the Courts," while full of useful information, are of more temporary interest.

Four subsequent lectures deal with Plymouth Brethrenism, Methodism, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism respectively. If the Plymouth Brethren are flattered by the prominence given to them, they will be far from flattered by the contents of the lecture, which abounds in plain-speaking as just and necessary as it is rare. The proselytising and divisive spirit of that community is exposed in the most scathing language. Many will be thankful to Mr. Rogers for the courage with which he has confronted a crying evil. "As has been pointed out by one of their critics, they make their protest against sects and sectarianism by creating a new sect the most narrow, bitter, intolerant, and sectarian of any." The Plymouth claim is the same in principle as the Roman, with far less to support it. Mr. Rogers justly says, "Infallibility claimed by a Pope who has succeeded to the inheritance of a long line of predecessors, each of whom has laboured to build up the structure of his power; who is seated on a throne resting on venerable precedents, on the usage of centuries, on the submission of multitudes; who is surrounded by all outward symbols of power and majesty, and to whom millions bow down in abject reverence, wears a very different aspect from infallibility claimed for themselves by a few sectaries, without a semblance of evidence to support their claims." "They make it their main business to detach Christians from the Churches where they have a religious home, instead of seeking to attract sinners to Jesus Christ. Wherever they go, their path is marked by discontent in Churches, heart-grief to pastors, divisions in families, and separations among those who have been as choice friends. Their hand is against every Church, and if the hand of every Church is not against them, it is partly, perhaps, because the real

extent of the danger has not been understood, and partly because their fair appearance has served to disarm suspicion. Numbers of pure and honest souls have been unable to believe that professions so specious concealed designs so destructive of Christian usefulness and harmony, or that those who talked so fairly of charity and unsectarianism were themselves representatives of a sectarianism more narrow in its theory, more severe in its judgments, more uncharitable in temper, and more unscrupulous in modes of action, than that of any other sect in Christendom." It is forcibly remarked that the best members of the sect—men like Müller, Craik, Tregelles—have been driven from it by its narrow, censorious spirit.

While reserving his own allegiance for Congregationalism, the lecturer has little but good to say of Presbyterianism and Methodism. He evidently believes that both systems represent principles and are doing a work which the Church could ill spare. The following passages are quite characteristic of the manliness of the entire volume. "Thirty years ago, when sectarian distinctions were sharper and sectarian feelings keener, Congregationalists unfortunately allowed themselves to be entangled in the internal troubles of Methodism, which led to the last secession. They had a chivalrous desire to aid the cause of freedom, and forgot that in differences of this character the interference of outsiders is pretty sure to furnish another proof of the wisdom of the old Book when it tells us that, 'he that passeth by and meddleth with strife that belongeth not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears.' The mistake was not as ungenerous in spirit as it appeared to those who felt themselves misjudged and aggrieved. Congregationalists at the time were too ready to regard themselves as the Paladins of liberty, and to come to the help of all who believed themselves oppressed. They looked too exclusively perhaps at those of whom they were the self-constituted champions, and did not remember that those whom they opposed were also brethren. The error is not likely to be repeated, and it is a pity that the recollection of so unfortunate an incident should ever be revived. Controversy between Congregationalists and Methodists is worse than a waste of time and energy; it is a division of those whose hearty union is necessary for the service demanded by Evangelical Protestantism at this great crisis."

We have no space to criticise or give examples of the sketches of leading characters like Newman, Keble, Pusey, Arnold, Whately, Froude, which give so much piquancy to the pages. The estimate of Newman is too eulogistic. Perhaps the time has not come to put in the shades to the portrait.

The mistakes are more numerous than such a volume should contain. "Profess to call themselves Christians" (p. 71), is a quotation at which a Churchman will smile. On p. 177, "neces-

sary" seems to stand for "unnecessary;" and on p. 438, "majority" for "minority." The substitute for "Liturgy" in the following sentence (p. 276) is curious: "The brilliant epigram which described the clergy as Arminian and the Liberals as Popish, had characterised the Articles as Calvinistic."

#### SIMCOX'S BEGINNINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

*The Beginnings of the Christian Church. Lectures delivered in the Chapter-Room of Winchester Cathedral.* By William Henry Simcox, M.A., Rector of Weyhill, Hants, late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 1881.

THESE lectures were delivered a few months ago at the request of Canon Wilberforce, and are now published with some alterations and additions. They are eight in number, and they review the history of the Christian Church from the Day of Pentecost to about the end of the second century. Though so many volumes have been written on these early years of Christianity, the subject is by no means exhausted. It is, for many reasons, a specially difficult one, though, at the same time, most interesting and important; and a writer who furnishes us with any real help towards the true understanding of it, deserves our thanks and attention. We are told in the preface that the lectures "cannot pretend to any originality of research, or use of any but the most familiar authorities;" but that the author's aim is "to state what is known, or can fairly be inferred, as to the forms and surroundings of Christian life at different periods, without forgetting that the principle of Christian life was continuous and unchangeable throughout." The lectures do not give a full history of the course of events in the period under investigation, or even a complete historical outline; they are rather accounts of certain special stages through which the Church passed, and of the influence of special difficulties which it had to encounter.

Lecture I., on "The Church at Jerusalem," is a sketch of the condition and growth of the Church up to the time of the martyrdom of Stephen. Several pages are devoted to the question of the so-called "community of goods." Mr. Simcox says, "I believe the view generally taken by sensible commentators or readers—at least in England—is, if expressed more clearly than they generally think it reverent to express it, something like this: that the disciples in a moment of enthusiasm adopted a communistic mode of life, wherein private property was abolished; that in consequence the Church of Jerusalem never was truly self-supporting, but from the first lived on its capital, and was pauperised when this was exhausted; and that other Churches, when

they arose, avoided imitating the generous mistake, and sought, by liberal almsgiving, to remedy its consequences." This view, Mr. Simcox thinks, does injustice to the practical sagacity of the Apostles; and he believes that "the spirit of charity, the sense of brotherhood that Christians felt towards their fellow-believers, differed from what Jews felt for theirs rather in degree, in purity, and in width of range, than in kind." The following is his explanation of the passage in the Acts which refers to the subject: "In their close sense of brotherhood, no one stood on his rights to his neighbour's prejudice, 'neither said any man that ought of the things which he possessed was his own;' but he did not cease to possess them if they were not beyond what he required for his own reasonable maintenance. 'As many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them . . . and distribution was made to every man according as he had need.' There were no rich men living in affluence on the savings of their ancestors, no poor in want of the necessaries of life; but we have no hint that the artisans or tradesmen—who, after all, formed perhaps the majority of the Church—threw their earnings into a common fund, and drew their maintenance from it. What the Church did was to maintain the poor in comfort, by the rich sacrificing their accustomed luxuries—not to make everyone dependent for necessaries on everybody else instead of on themselves. Moreover, it is to be noticed that while St. Barnabas sold his estate, apparently in Cyprus, his aunt retained her house at Jerusalem, and used it, instead of parting with it, for the benefit of the community; while we are told that Ananias was under no compulsion to emulate his charity, at least in the entireness of its extent."

The Lecture is followed by a note on the speeches in the Acts of the Apostles. Are they to be regarded as anything like verbatim reports or even abridgments of the speeches actually made, or are we to consider St. Luke as following the fashionable literary method of his time, by putting into the mouths of the speakers he introduces words which, though a true representation of their opinions, were never really spoken by the men themselves? Mr. Simcox evidently tries to be perfectly impartial in weighing this question, and only concludes "with some hesitation" that we are justified in using the speeches as strictly historical authority. The note is exceedingly interesting; but we are inclined to think that the facts of the case fairly warrant a more confident conclusion.

In Lecture II., on "The Jewish and Gentile Churches," Mr. Simcox explains very clearly how the persecution that arose about Stephen made the Gospel independent of the Temple, and so did something to guard against the danger, that for a while seemed to threaten, of Christianity becoming simply a spiritualised Judaism. The Church was driven forth from Jerusalem

to go into all the world. Then is traced the gradual extension of the Gospel, which resulted in the establishment of a Gentile Church at Antioch. Thus it was shown that men were not required to become Jews first in order that they might afterwards become Christians, for God had granted unto the Gentiles repentance unto life. But soon a question arose—which Mr. Simcox shows to be quite a distinct one—whether it was necessary that after receiving the Gospel they should then be circumcised, and submit to the ordinances of the law of Moses. A very clear account is given of the real meaning of this discussion, and of its settlement at the Council of Jerusalem. The remainder of the Lecture is chiefly devoted to the history of Paul's conflict with the Judaizers on this and similar questions up to the time of his final departure from Jerusalem.

Lecture III. is entitled "The Church and the Empire," and sketches the history of Christianity to the end of the Neronian persecution, with special reference to the relations sustained by the civil power to the Church. Mr. Simcox is almost fierce in speaking of those who still doubt that St. Peter was ever at Rome. He says, "That he died in Rome, I venture to say no reasonable Christian can doubt. There are some people, of course, who can get rid of any amount of evidence, scriptural or otherwise, by the simple process of denying the genuineness or the veracity of the authorities; there are also some Protestants who do not know what evidence means, and think that they have a religious interest in believing that St. Peter was never at Rome, just as there are more Romanists who do not know what evidence means, and think, more excusably, that they have a religious interest in believing that he was Pope for twenty-five years. But if two things can be asserted confidently of the Apostle's later years, they are: first, that he did not live long at Rome; and next, that he did die there."

Lecture IV. is on "The Close of the Apostolic Age," and carries the story to the end of the first century. A brief account is given of the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem, and the consequent separation of the fortunes of the Jewish nation from those of the Christian Church. Several pages are occupied with a careful investigation concerning the probable date of St. John's vision, of which we have the record in the Apocalypse. In opposition to the general tradition of Christendom, Mr. Simcox concludes that the vision was seen in the reign of Vespasian, in the year 69 or 70 A.D. Some of the traditions concerning the last years of St. John's life are quoted and dwelt upon, specially with the view of showing what light they throw upon the organization and condition of the Church in the period to which they refer.

Lecture V. treats of "The Sub-apostolic Church." The Church

has rightly judged that an all-important distinction must be drawn between the New Testament Scriptures and all other Christian writings; yet this distinction was not at once recognised. There were certain writings of Apostolic men which for some time were considered to be of almost equal authority with the writings of the Apostles themselves. The earliest and historically the most important of these is the Epistle of Clement of Rome. From the materials furnished by this Epistle, helped out by allusions of other writers, the lecturer endeavours to represent the main elements of Church life and organisation in the period under examination. He also uses, in the same way, Pliny's celebrated letter to Trajan and Trajan's answer.

Lecture VI. is on "The Successes of the Apostles," and treats specially of Ignatius and Polycarp, and their writings, and the so-called Epistle of Barnabas.

Lecture VII. is a sketch of "The Church of the Apologists," and is followed by an elaborate and useful note of about forty pages on the Gnostic Heresies; and the last lecture represents "The Church of the Martyrs," closing with the account of the persecution at Vienna, A.D. 177.

There are paragraphs here and there which prevent us from forgetting that we are reading the words of one who is a firm believer in the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry and in the Apostolic origin of the "three orders;" and there are several conclusions on kindred subjects which we cannot fully adopt; but, for all that, the book is by no means written in a narrow or exclusive spirit. The style is exceedingly clear and interesting; and though, of course, the lectures traverse familiar ground, there is considerable freshness in the way in which the subject is treated. The book is the work of a scholar and a critic, and will certainly be a useful addition to the library of every student of early Church History.

#### RABBI JESHUA.

*Rabbi Jeshua: an Eastern Story.* London: C. Kegan Paul and Co. 1881.

THE title of this book is an Oriental veil under which is presented to us another "Life of Christ." The narrative professes to be based on the second of the Gospels alone, which the writer attributes to Peter as *Simeon has Sadik*, and which, he thinks, "has evidently served as the original basis of the other accounts." But this "brief chronicle is nevertheless not free from serious defects as an historical work." For, alas, it contains a prophecy that was fulfilled—that is to say a "pretended prophecy," and is



full of miracles ! These supernatural elements of the story are generously set down to "the ignorance and credulity of the peasant disciple" and "the superstitious beliefs of the age," and are by no means to be charged upon Rabbi Jeshua himself. They must be "discounted as far as possible" as "idiosyncrasies of the writer" and infirmities characteristic of his race and situation. For "the scene was laid," we are reminded, "not in Europe, but in Asia," in "the unchangeable East," "the native home of the monotheistic faiths," where the sentiments of the modern Oriental reproduce the ideas and motives of the Jew of nineteen centuries since. "Shorn of the quaint conceits of the original chronicle, and illustrated by contemporary literature," the narrative, as the writer hopes, "may perhaps attract a wider circle of readers than that composed of Rabbinical students. For "there are few stories more fascinating or pathetic than that of the living, passionate, devoted life which it is here proposed to describe."

After this Introduction we know what to expect. It is another attempt, from the rationalistic humanitarian standpoint, to answer the question, by which every school of thought has to be judged in turn, "What think ye of Christ ?" And the answer is that He was a Rabbi of genius, a child of the Galilean poor whom He passionately loved ; early gaining a profound insight into the principles of Jewish monotheism ; attracted by the spiritual and ascetic life of the Essenes (Hasaya), and especially by the teaching of John the Baptist (Hanan of Bethania), their great popular leader, and gaining from this sect the secret knowledge of medicine through which, and in virtue of His personal ascendancy and force of will, His numerous cures were effected ; teaching little more than the highest Essenic and Rabbinical morality and in the best Rabbinical style, but breaking utterly with all Pharisaic tradition and authority ; a fatalist, gradually forming the idea of His call to a spiritual Messiahship, which He expected to see established at last by an act of Divine intervention ; overthrown, when at Jerusalem He challenged His fate, by a coalition of the heads of the Jewish parties against Him ; and raised from the dead only in the faith of His disciples, whose "Semitic mind, characterised by a tenacity that prevents the eradication of an idea once firmly grasped," unmoved "even by the rudest shocks of disillusion," readily accepted the wild story of a parcel of "frightened women"—and (above all things) "*Oriental women*," who "have always been and still are the chief authors of marvellous tales."

This so-called "Eastern story" we have heard before, and know it by this time only too well. It is nothing but an audacious *Western fiction*. Its violent discrepancies with the best-attested facts of history and of human nature, and its

intrinsic impossibilities and self-contradictions, have been demonstrated again and again.\*

And it is in vain for the rationalistic critic, after he has destroyed the Christ of the Gospels and of the Christian age, to summon to his aid the arts and incantations of the modern novelist in order to charm the dead Saviour into life once more. Haply the image called forth by this unholy spell may prove, like the apparition of Samuel to the godless Saul at Endor, far mightier and more real than those who invoked it ever dreamt of.

There is certainly nothing new in this work regarded as a contribution to the historical discussion of its great subject, nor would the author probably claim any such merit for it. But it nevertheless challenges attention as a book of unique and grave significance. It depicts more effectively than any other book we know the Jesus of the current rationalism of the day. Its extreme brevity and the breadth and generality of its treatment, as well as its literary skill and pictorial art, contribute to this result. Of course in an elegant novelette of some 200 pages of post octavo, with large print and wide margins, argument and explanation are impossible, and we must content ourselves, as well as we can, with assumption and innuendo in their stead. Of these we have enough and to spare. And to many readers, no doubt, they will prove far more acceptable. Here is *scepticism made easy* with a witness! And this clever and attractive *brochure*, which conducts one in an hour or two of literary recreation through the deepest problems of history and of religion, and waves aside so lightly and adroitly all the more serious and positive facts of the Christian faith, may do a grievous injury to uninformed and busy readers, and will, we fear, confirm and develop the hesitating or incipient scepticism of too many of those into whose hands it will fall.

But let us not be unjust to the writer. He manifests a sincere and serious temper, far removed from the elegant impertinence and airy nonchalance which mark the religious writings of Mr. Matthew Arnold, of whom he reminds us by his charm of literary style, as well as by the astounding character of his assumptions. Here and there, too, unless we are mistaken, he betrays signs of a wholesome misgiving in regard to his own position and the critical methods of those in whose steps he is treading. And he never descends to the offensive theatrical sensationalism of M. Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, while possessed of a considerable share of that distinguished writer's imaginative and descriptive power. He depicts, imperfectly it is true, but with genuine historical art and poetic feeling, the outward conditions

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\* Not often by the way more clearly and completely than by Prebendary Row in his *Jesus of the Evangelists*, a book we are glad to see recently republished.

of nature and of social life which surrounded Christ's earthly career, and in the first fifty pages of the book, chiefly devoted to these topics, there are passages of singular beauty and force. Indeed the third chapter, on "Society in the Tetrarchies," is in the main a faithful, as well as a brilliant sketch. The farther the writer stands away from the *Person* of his transcendent subject, the better it is for his work. In the chapters that follow he is too anxious to minimise the statements of his documents, and to keep up his covert running fire against the intrenchments of orthodoxy, to produce a very distinct or positive impression of the figure he desires to draw; and his *Rabbi Jeshua* is after all, like every attempted rationalistic substitute for the Divine Christ, a pale and unsubstantial shadow, a mere historical phantom, which the understanding fails to grasp and the heart must cease to trust.

The last chapter, under the title of "Rabbi Jeshua and England," furnishes the *moral* of the "story," and indicates somewhat darkly, the author's purpose in writing it. It reveals a mind animated by an earnest human sympathy, but sadly discontented with modern life and thought, and hopeless of any present help, seeing nowhere with any certainty the signs of the dawning of a better day. It is evident that the writer as much disbelieves the existence of anything like the mind and heart of the human Christ in the actual Christian Church, as he does the appearance of the superhuman Christ in the past ages of the world. And between these two scepticisms there is probably in his case, as in that of many others, a very close logical and practical connection. And yet, while he turns dissatisfied from the Christ of the evangelical pulpit and of the modern Church, he assuredly finds no salvation in any other. His keenest sarcasm is reserved for the hard and harsh materialist and the superfine sickly sweet æsthetic of the day, and the truth as well as the wit of the following delineation, which we quote from the last page of this remarkable book, will at once be recognised. "Your father," he represents the scientist as saying to a fatherless child (humanity?) "was in all probability an ape. His vital force has been translated into another mode of motion, and you will never see him again. You are probably now suffering from the laws which regulate the activity of your organism and impel it to seek the renovation of fuel supplied by food. I judge by the electric discharge from your eyes that some such internal commotion is developing, and I advise you to go and purchase provisions for the regulation of your internal mechanism." Then says the æsthetic in his turn: "How sweet and significant is your desolation. How supremely delicious is the agony of such a loneliness! But yet withal how weary must he ever be who is compelled to listen to the griefs of others deafening the

music of his own intense content. For this, sweet child, I leave thee to the luxury of woe, lest through too much sympathy I lose mine own delight." The last sentence of the volume we add for him to understand that can: "Thus to a woman at length among all the philosophers it was left to offer the true comfort, which lay in the simple suggestion to seek and ask for the father who was lost, and to take back the wanderer to his arms."

This is a book that may give much food for useful reflection to the thoughtful and well-grounded Christian man, who desires to be in sympathy with the mental conflicts and temptations of his age. To the unformed, unsettled mind it is full of peril. Taking leave of the unknown author, we may at least be permitted to say, *Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses.*

#### BLACKIE'S LAY SERMONS.

*Lay Sermons.* By John Stuart Blackie. London: Macmillan and Co.

EVERY one knows by this time what to expect in a book by Professor Blackie—vigorous thought, a style both animated and cultured, healthy moral teaching and some eccentricity of opinion. These qualities are present in full force in the Professor's new volume. The title is sure to provoke comparison with another somewhat celebrated work by a southern Professor. For our part, we do not hesitate to express our preference for the *Lay Sermons* of the Scotch Professor. Here the moral world and spiritual nature of man are more than recognised, whereas for anything which the English Professor says the material might be the only world in existence, and man might be no more than an animal or machine. If Professors will turn their Chairs into Pulpits, we hope that they will always do it to as good purpose, and for such worthy ends, as the well-known Professor of Edinburgh University.

Of the nine "Sermons" included in the volume, the first on "The Creation of the World" is the longest and most valuable. Whether the idea of creation out of nothing is altogether the idle speculation which Professor Blackie makes it out to be, we will not here discuss. If the Professor took into account the moral consequences of the alternative, he might see reasons to alter his opinion. We are more concerned to note the great amount of wholesome truth insisted upon by our Lay Preacher in his most trenchant style. As he most justly points out, the full meaning and grandeur of the Mosaic account are only seen when placed in contrast, not with modern scientific theories, but with the ancient cosmogonies of the East, samples of which are given. "The first

chapter of Genesis," he says, "has been confronted with Playfair and Hutton, and the minute shell-fish of Murchison's Silurian rocks, not, as it ought to have been, with Homer and Hesiod and Thales and Heraclitus, or the portentous cosmogonies of the Indian Puranas." When the latter point of view is adopted, certain great principles are seen to be expressed in the Mosaic account to which the other systems are utter strangers. These principles are not read into the narrative from modern thought, but have always been deduced from it with more or less of clearness. They are the ideas of Order, Cause, Progression, Design, Religion, Benevolence. Higher than these ideas modern thought has never risen. If they were only present in the pages of heathen philosophers as they are present in the first pages of Genesis, what a godsend it would be for those who pass by Moses with supercilious contempt! The following are just words: "In no branch of the many-armed activity of human life do we see any other principle than this at work—mind constantly the cause of order; disorder as constantly proceeding from the absence of mind. Nor is there the slightest reason to suppose that, while we make this conclusion safely with regard to what falls within our human sphere of action, we are making a leap in the dark when we say that the presence of a like mind always and everywhere is the cause, and the only cause, of all orderly operations and results in the external universe. For the order which we perceive in the external universe is exactly similar to that which we create by our own activity; and to suppose different or contrary causes for effects altogether similar and identical is unphilosophical. Nay, more; the most curious machines which we can make, with the highest power of our most highly cultivated reason, have already been made, and are already constructed in the world over which we exercise no control, exactly on the same principles as those which are the product of our thought-directed finger. The eye, as everybody knows, is a telescope. The man who doubts that the power which made the human eye is, in its manner of working, not only similar to, but absolutely identical with, the mind which invented the telescope, may as well doubt whether the little paper-boat which young Bobbie or Billy launches upon the ponds floats there upon the same principle by which the mighty ocean bears the armadas of England and France and America upon its bosom. Doubters of this description labour under a disease for which argument certainly is not the proper cure." We wish we had room for the pages in which Professor Blackie discusses the atheistic evolutionism of Haeckel and similar writers. We know how savages and animals are constantly paraded "as performing feats indicative of reasoning faculties, not only equal, but superior to the boasted reason of the human being." "As a bird without wings is not a bird, and

a fox without a tail is no just specimen of the classical Reynard of the mediæval stories, so neither is the fatuity or the curiosity of an inmate of a lunatic asylum, nor the rank animal savagery of the inhabitant of some lone, neglected island in the Australian seas, a specimen which can be fairly taken as distinctive of the reasonable featherless biped whom we call man. You ask why the lower animals do these miraculous things? Simply because they are in the hands of God; because He leads them, and they may go, and must go, with a miraculous unconscious guidance, to any goal which for them by His presiding forethought may be set. They are tools in the hand of God, and therefore do their work more surely than man; but not therefore are they superior to man, or in any way commensurate with him; for they have not been elevated into the throne of conscious liberty and possible blunder, which is at once the privilege and the penalty of the sons of Adam." With vigour the Professor presses home the question why the animals, whose achievements some writers seem to envy, have had no progress, no history, "no poets, no painters, no prophets, no apostles, no literature, no churches, no worship." "Simply because they are not created in the image of God. No doubt they have their work to do, and they do it well; but it is marked out for them in definite and invariable lines, not projected with the freedom of a self-determining ideal." While we cannot subscribe to all the views enunciated in this first Sermon, we heartily agree with the last sentence, "The Stoic or the Academy may preach resignation, but consolation is to be found only at the foot of the Cross."

In the sermon on "The Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Lord's Day," the Professor seems somewhat inconsistent. He argues strongly against the Divine authority and strict observance of the Lord's Day, but at the same time wishes to retain all the advantages which have sprung from belief in that authority, and the practice of such observance. His closing sentences are directly in the teeth of nearly all that has preceded. "The Scottish people have exposed themselves to no little just ridicule by their strict views on Sabbath observance; but it has not always been considered that strict Sabbatizing, with its natural accompaniment, Bible-reading, has acted for three centuries as the principal agent in the formation of the serious, solid, substantial, and thoroughly reliable character so typical of our people. It is better, as human beings are constituted, to be a trifle too serious, than to float through life in an element of levity and frivolity,—better, since the golden mean of virtue can scarcely be obtained, to hold the rein too tight than to have no reins to hold; for out of a certain ethical severity, as from a root, the greatest national virtue has been found to grow; while from looseness of ethical ideas and levity of practice the greatest nations have been ruined. If the



Scottish people are destined to such great overthrow as overtook Tyre and Sidon, Rome and Constantinople, it will not be the severity of Sabbatical observance that will prove the occasion of their fall, but their inability to reconcile their theology with the science of the age, and the spiritual creed which they profess with the pomp of seductive materialism with which they are surrounded."

In the sermons on "Landlords and Land Laws," "The Politics of Christianity," "The Dignity of Labour," "The Scottish Covenanters," "Symbolism and Ceremonialism," the author's sympathies are all with freedom, truth, and progress.

#### CELLARIUS'S NEW ANALOGY.

*A New Analogy between Revealed Religion and the Course and Constitution of Nature.* By Cellarius. London: Macmillan and Co. 1881.

AN author, who gives his book such a title as the above, must be either very vain or very clear in his conviction of the philosophical value of his work. To challenge comparison with Butler is to invite criticism. And although such a comparison may be deprecated in words, and the title defended by the plea of similarity in method, it is inevitable that a book with the pretensions of the present one will be carefully scrutinised by the orthodox before they welcome it. In this case the ultimate heartiness of the welcome will probably be in proportion to the closeness of the scrutiny. It is not likely that it will be followed by the immediate success that attended the old "Analogy," for its task is more difficult and its method has ceased to be novel. But it merits a not inconspicuous position amidst the modern literature of apologetics, and will be read a second time by most of the thoughtful men who are wise enough to read it once.

The purpose and scope of the book are sufficiently described by the author himself. "There seems no reason why it (the argument from analogy) may not be once more employed to combat the present state of mental incredulity and indifference; due care being taken to adapt the course and details of the argument to the changes which lapse of time and alterations in the way of thinking have produced in the attitude of those who cannot bring themselves to regard the Christian religion as being the direct work of God and His own peculiar gift to mankind." But the new Analogy differs further from the old than in the modernisation of its language and reasoning. Butler aimed chiefly at the refutation of objections and the removal of difficulties that were found in the contents of Revelation. Cellarius aims at more positive results, at the conviction of gainsayers who are dissatisfied

not with the matter of Revelation but with its evidence. He tries to prove that, because the methods and characteristics of Nature and of Revelation are similar, whilst there is no marked divergence between the two systems, each of which supplements the other, and is necessary to its completeness, therefore there is a strong presumption that both have the same cause. And that presumption is so strong, because the cumulative weight of the evidence is so great, that it amounts to practical certainty. First of all, after defining his terms, our author settles down to a general preliminary view of the analogy between Revelation and Nature, and discovers sufficient likeness between the two to encourage a further examination. But he is delayed at once by the necessity of meeting the objection that other religions beside the Christian present the same kind of resemblance to the course of Nature. That objection does not however detain him long. He refutes it thoroughly from his own philosophical point of view, whilst the reader can scarcely fail to see how easy it would be to smite it hip-and-thigh by the use of the historical method. Our author has indeed been blamed by one of the Weeklies for not displaying at this point a complete acquaintance with ecclesiastical history and the science of comparative religions. He is rather to be commended. It was enough for him to show that the objection he was dealing with could not stand against the weapons to the use of which he was confining himself. And he was precluded by his design from that historical expansion, which can be readily found elsewhere.

By the time he has reached the fifth chapter, the author has cleared the way of all obstacles, and is able to confine himself to the exhibition of the analogies after which he is seeking. The testimony for Revelation is shown to include every kind of evidence by which Nature calls upon us to believe that this or that proposition is true. Taking next the various parts of Revelation, each is discussed by itself. A double relation is traced between Nature and Revelation in respect of the Creator. On the one hand, the main ideas of Revelation are such as Nature either suggests or verifies; and on the other, the main ideas of Nature are reproduced in, or at least harmonise with the teaching of Revelation. Moreover, the manifestation of the Son, in His life, His character, and His manner of teaching, was wholly natural. And with respect to the matter of His teachings, He vitalised and exemplified those of Nature, and enforced them by religious sanctions. The doctrine of redemption implies a condition of evil in which men are placed, their incapacity to escape from it, and the exhibition by Divine power of a suitable and sufficient remedy: all Nature justifies or illustrates the evil and the incapacity, and leads to the hope of a remedy. Nature again is not without traces of the idea and practice of sacrifice, and the self-sacrifice of Christ

is the realisation of what she bids us aim at. And, finally, the work of the Spirit in the institution of the Christian Church is in strict accordance with the analogy of Nature. The two systems are, indeed, so analogical and closely connected, that Revelation gives to the whole course of Nature a religious significance which is perfectly consistent with the strongest impressions that Nature makes upon the mind of man. There are no countervailing contradictions or dissimilarities between the two systems. Hence arises a probability, that is irresistible until it is rebutted, that the same Power designed both, and claims our allegiance to both. And it is a fair thing to demand that a man should either decisively disprove the argument from analogy, or accept that Revelation which it shows to be the work of God.

It is impossible in such a summary as the above to do justice to the ingenuity and force of the reasoning wherewith Cellarius has filled this book. Some of his analogies will doubtless seem somewhat fanciful, and occasionally he is on doubtful ground, as in the assumption that is at one point necessary to his reasoning, that Christ's teaching was wholly a republication of Nature's. But the argument is not by any means vitiated by the inability of the reader always to agree with the writer. If several of the analogies appear to be unreal, they may simply be omitted or passed over; and the weight of the argument must be determined by those that remain. And there can be no doubt of the great value of the work, as a whole, which Cellarius has done: and his use of the old and yet recently untried way of analogy for the defence of the Faith will be generally approved. He calls himself a "private and unlearned person," and almost apologises for undertaking a task that he assumes appertains especially to "the clergy and theologians." Yet he is so far familiar with modern learning as to be able, not merely to reproduce it, but to handle it with ease, and use it for his own purposes. And in a few points the layman even outstrips the great bishop whose *Analogy* suggested his. Butler is sometimes obscure to irritation. Cellarius is the master of a clear, easy style, never undignified or thin, but always earnest and intelligible, and at times even fascinating. Whilst he never protrudes moral appeal upon his readers, or turns aside the intellectual current of his book for the sake of a moment's application, there are passages which reach the spirit through the reason, and stir it to its depths. We have met with few recent attempts to demonstrate the Divine origin of Revelation that we have read with greater interest or pleasure than this.

#### BRUNTON'S BIBLE AND SCIENCE.

*The Bible and Science.* By T. Lander Brunton, M.D., &c.  
London: Macmillan and Co. 1881.

ALL honour to the men who, with adequate intellect, judgment,

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and knowledge, have striven modestly and reverently to narrow, if not close up, the gulf which wilfulness, prejudice, or ignorance has thrown between Science and the Scriptures! They are none the less honourable because they have suffered contempt and abuse; hardly the less because the result of their labours has not always equalled either their own expectations or the wishes of the best friends of religious and scientific truth. Unfortunately many gifted writers on this subject have either attempted too much or else they have impaired the force of their argument, so far as it went, by questionable Scripture exegesis, or by quasi-biblical or quasi-scientific speculations, such as, in the nature of things, could satisfy no one. We fear we cannot pronounce the very interesting volume before us to be free from objection on grounds of this sort. By far the larger part of the volume is occupied with a conspectus of recent and extinct forms of animal and vegetable life, together with the embryological and other relations subsisting between them; and Dr. Brunton's name is a guarantee both for the accuracy of his scientific descriptions and for the clearness and beauty of the language employed to convey them. It would be difficult to point to any work containing, within the same space, an equally full, precise, and luminous account of the constitution and development of the organic world; still more difficult to find a connected series of illustrations of the doctrine of evolution, and of arguments in favour of the doctrine under the theistic view of it, drawn out and exhibited with the combined strength and sobriety which characterise Dr. Brunton's pages.

Off the scientific field, however, our author is not so happy. While it is obvious that he has been a diligent student of Scripture, and that he is well informed in all matters of Biblical history, geography, antiquities, and the like, his interpretation of Scripture, notably, for instance, in the case of Judah's want of success in driving out certain of the Canaanites, as recorded in the Book of Judges, is often faulty or precarious, and the main argument of the work is so far nullified. It is to be regretted too that Dr. Brunton, like many of his predecessors, attempts to bring science and Scripture to terms, on the plan of reducing the Old Testament miracles to the dimensions of purely natural phenomena. This is wholly unsatisfactory. Where miracle is concerned, the sacred documents themselves, it is true, recognise in several instances an operation of natural law, as in the case of the strong east wind which divided the Red Sea; and, so far as they recognise such an agency, let us recognise it also. But, on many occasions, no such agency is referred to, or is even rationally supposable (no more supposable than where Christ, by a word and in a moment, gave a limb to a maimed man); and in all the Scripture miracles there is an element which transcends not only physical science, but all human understanding, and which ought to

be treated accordingly. Hence the utter failure of all purely scientific explanations of the miraculous standing still of the sun and moon at the bidding of Joshua; and hence, we might add, the un wisdom of attempting to explain in full either this or any other miracle of Scripture. Dr. Brunton is not more successful than others have been in this transcendental region. No reader will be satisfied with the view that Joshua's miracle was a solar eclipse, or that the dividing of the Jordan was due to a sudden upheaving of its bed, or that Moses sweetened the waters of Marah by a simple wooden apparatus acting on the principle of the artesian well; and, with great respect to Dr. Brunton, we are bound to say that, in our feeling, the supreme argument of his book does not add much to the cause which he is so laudably desirous of promoting. We are familiar with the doctrine that the early Old Testament Scriptures are the horn-book of the Church, and, to a certain extent, we accept the doctrine; and we agree with our author that in it we are to seek the solution of many difficulties which have arisen of late as between the ancient faith of the Gospel and the new revelations of Science; but, even at the cost of the faith for the time being, we cannot consent that Scripture shall be ignored, or frittered away, or mutilated, or put under unfair or unreasonable pressure. And here it is, we think, that Dr. Brunton loses his strength. He is always reverent, always candid. He never consciously does the smallest injustice to truth on any side, but he moves too quickly over the ground. He does not look his texts full in the face. He is satisfied with general impressions. Sometimes, without intending it, he crushes a passage into an impalpable powder. Now, this will not do. Grant that the first few chapters in Genesis are the primer of the Bible revelation; still the primer is historical, and God wrote it, and there must be historic and scientific truth behind its teaching. This will satisfy alike the demands of a rational science and an enlightened Christianity. Nothing less than this will satisfy them. It is not enough to say, as Dr. Brunton does, that the Biblical account of the formation of woman is "a parable" intended to serve the purposes of religion and good morals. A parable may be a pure and naked fiction without any basis of fact; and no believer in the inspiration of the Scriptures will allow that the passage in Moses, referring to Eve, is in this sense a parable. So for the cosmogony, the creation of man, paradise, the fall, and other leading particulars of the early Pentateuchal records; if the mediator between science and Scripture forsakes the literal meaning, he must be prepared to show that the parabolic form of the documents, considering that they are historical, is the sacred vesture and exponent of truth, on which indubitable history and fact will put their seal. Unless he can do this, he should stand back and wait.

We heartily thank Dr. Brunton for the spirit in which he has written this beautiful book, and for very much that is instructive and suggestive in its contents. The last of the seventeen "Lectures" composing it is devoted to "the development of individuals," and the reader will find under this heading a number of philosophical and practical discussions relating to the transmission of natural or moral characteristics in men which are of the utmost interest and value. We commend this part of the work in particular to the attention of all parents, educationists, social reformers, and ministers of religion. If they do not meet with something here well worth their pondering, we are greatly mistaken. We ought to add that Dr. Brunton's volume is full of charming illustrations of objects of natural history, and that the author has the great merit of never being dull.

#### DORCHESTER'S PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS PROGRESS.

*The Problem of Religious Progress.* By Daniel Dorchester, D.D. New York: Phillips and Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden and Stowe. 1881.

WITHIN the last dozen years many allegations have been made, often by men whose position or ability enabled them to speak with authority, to the effect that Protestantism either had failed or was failing. Its decline has been adopted as the topic of public addresses and of volumes of considerable size. Not only by Romanists and High Churchmen, but by men of the highest literary rank, it has been seriously maintained that the disintegration of religion is rapidly proceeding, and that the morality based upon the religion popularly professed has broken down. In November, 1879, Professor Goldwin Smith wrote, "A collapse of religious belief, of the most complete and tremendous kind, is at hand;" and in the following month, in another periodical, Mr. J. A. Froude repeated the sentiment, "In every corner of the world there is the same phenomenon of the decay of established religions. . . . Science, history, philosophy have contrived to create universal uncertainty." Most earnest and well-informed Protestants, when they have met with such or similar statements, have probably passed on with a shrug of confident incredulity. But in some cases other results have followed, and the tone of disheartenment can be caught occasionally within the Protestant Church itself. It is very desirable that the exact truth as to the position of morality and of Protestantism at the present day should be shown and maintained. And Dr. Dorchester sets himself in this book to examine the indictment laid against current Christianity, testing its accuracy in the light of actual history and of the tabulated returns made by the various churches and



societies. Neither he nor any other prudent man would deny that the popular morality of Protestant countries and individuals is far below the Protestant standard. But if it can be proved that the morality is higher than in previous ages, that its sanctions are deemed more authoritative, and that its substratum of doctrine is more generally and intelligently received, it follows that there is no ground for any pessimistic fears. But the discouragement of supposed failure must give place to a firmer confidence than ever, to a surer and more rational hope that the kingdoms will in due time all become Christ's.

There is no lack of force or completeness in Dr. Dorchester's demonstration. Under the three heads of Faith, Morals, and Spiritual Vitality, he compares the present condition of the Protestant world with its state at other periods, and the comparison is always to the advantage of the present. Historical theology has passed, it is true, through many purifying processes since the days of Calvin, but no single fundamental truth has been lost or obscured, and to-day the leading sceptical writers are more concerned with the defence of their own camp than with aggression against Christianity. And, with respect to morality, it is almost absurd to contrast the present code or practice with that of Europe before the Lutheran Reformation, with that of Great Britain before the Methodist Revival, or with that of the United States in the last century. Similarly with spirituality, there have been long periods during which such a quality could not be said to belong to more than a very few minds in the nation, whereas now it commands the respect of all, and adorns the lives of thousands in almost every land. And if the amount of vitality is to be judged by its effects, it should not be forgotten that religious papers and societies, and by far the greater part of the apparatus of evangelism, were almost unknown a century ago. The fault of Dr. Dorchester's treatment of his subject is not brevity, for his book contains more than six hundred pages. Yet his treatment is not, and perhaps no treatment of such a subject can be, exhaustive. He produces enough facts to make his position inexpugnable. Few readers who have any knowledge of the past will be unable to add illustrations and particulars quite as numerous as the many they will find on his pages.

A fourth and very valuable section, embracing nearly half the book, is devoted to statistical exhibits of religious status and progress. No such collection of statistics has been printed before, either so complete and recent or so generally accurate. Some of the tables must, indeed, have cost our author an amount of labour which it is impossible to estimate. He has searched far and wide amongst the dullest of all literature, with a laboriousness almost without limit and with a few figures as the sole result. And as far as we have been able to test his figures, they are as

exact as full ; while the authorities for the different estimates, that have sometimes to be used in the absence of more correct information, are uniformly given. And if the conclusions announced are at times startling and contrary to all expectation, it should be borne in mind that they are based upon the strictest demonstrations of arithmetic. First of all, he shows the relative progress of Protestantism and Romanism, using in this and other cases coloured diagrams to represent vividly the results of his examination ; and next confining himself to the United States, the actual progress of the different churches and their growth, as compared with that of the population. Missionary statistics follow, and a final view is taken of the position which Christianity under its different forms holds with respect to the entire race. An appendix, containing ecclesiastical and œcumenical tables and a useful index, complete a book which should be carefully studied by all who wish to know how the struggle between Christianity and the world is proceeding. It ought, in reason, to dispel all doubts and fears concerning the spread of the faith of Christ. It supplies a complete answer to all that adverse criticism which, when it does not convince, too often captivates and saddens the spirit, and disposes men to turn back in the day of battle.

#### DELITZSCH'S OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY OF REDEMPTION.

*Old Testament History of Redemption.* Lectures by Franz Delitzsch, Professor of Theology, Leipzig. Translated from Manuscript Notes by Samuel Ives Curtis, Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1881.

THIS little book is an epitome of the Old Testament History, and is published from notes taken of one of Professor Delitzsch's courses on the Biblical Theology of the Old Testament. It is primarily intended by the translator, Professor Curtis, as a class-book for his own students, and corresponds to a similar volume, entitled *Messianic Prophecies*, noticed in this REVIEW some time ago.

Dr. Delitzsch is not occupied in these lectures with the History of the Old Covenant, or of Israel, as such. He begins, indeed, from the earliest period of Biblical history, and carries his sketch to the resurrection of our Lord. He treats of the history of redemption, as it is wrought out through the enlightenment, prophetic and legal, and the providential instruction of the Hebrew race. From this point of view the summary is complete. We have a rapid review of the history, with pauses sufficient to indicate the character of the different crises through which Old Testament religion passed, and even to mark the different moulds

which Messianic prophecy took. Some of the remarks, scattered up and down the volume, are, as might be expected from such an author, most striking and valuable. What could be better, for example, than the following explanation of the change from the rigid supernaturalism of the older prophets to the gorgeous imagery of Ezekiel? Speaking of the vision of the Divine chariot (Ez. i.-iii., viii.-xi.), Professor Delitzsch says, "Here Jehovah appears for the first time in an entirely human manner; the One who, as lawgiver, had forbidden that a human likeness should be made of Him (Ex. xx. 4; Deut. iv. 15-18), now represents Himself in human form; for the time of the incarnation is now drawing nearer, therefore Israel must be accustomed to think of God in a human way, after the better part of the nation has been weaned, by means of the exile, from thinking of Him as human in a heathen manner." That seems to us a very true indication of the mystery of Divine Providence in the development of prophecy.

At the same time, a sketch like this is only useful within certain rather narrow limits. As a class-book, or as the companion of more sustained and elaborate studies, it may indeed prove useful. But it is clear that the treatment of the history of redemption from Adam to our Lord, which is comprised in two hundred small pages, must be slight, even if accurate. And thus the student will find little help in most of his critical difficulties, save the expression of an opinion or, perhaps, a reference. In particular, we should have liked a fuller account of the religious reforms of Josiah, and of the relation of Ezra to the Pentateuch, according to Dr. Delitzsch's view of it. The student who will consult such a work as this may be presumed to be such as seek guidance upon a number of these very difficult questions, rather than a mere epitome. Despite, therefore, the scholarship which, of course, marks these lectures, and their general use as a handy summary, we scarcely think that they will be of very great service to students, unless, indeed, they could be accompanied by Dr. Delitzsch's *viva voce* comments on the positions he maintains.

#### WARREN'S LITURGY OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

*The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.* By F. E. Warren, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1881.

ALL students of English Church history will welcome this volume. The product of much patient labour, of much learning and of calm judgment, it throws light upon an obscure period, and brings into view conditions of the early Churches of this land it is most needful to know if a just estimate is to be formed of their

character and influence. But it is to the Liturgiologist in particular that the work commends itself. To the class of ecclesiastical literature to which it belongs, it is a most valuable contribution. The inner life of the churches, as well as their historical relations, are illustrated in this careful examination of the ritual of their worship.

Until quite recently, but few materials were at hand to furnish the means of accurate information, and tentative efforts of inquiry were wanting. If we allow the "certain element of incompleteness" modestly acknowledged to be inevitable in the treatment of the subject, we must affirm the great benefit accruing from the definite method of inquiry adopted, and the equally definite path suggested to future researches. The materials that have been made available during the past few years have been diligently examined, and a careful use has been made of older writings and records.

Defining the "Celtic Church" to embrace the churches which existed in these islands, with certain continental offshoots, previous to the time of St. Augustine, and continuing until more or less absorbed by the Anglo-Saxon Churches, Mr. Warren, in a few pages, traces the limits and duration of the early Church, a Church both widespread and influential. The monastic and missionary character of the Church is illustrated in pages that suggest many topics for future inquirers. The line of argument by which its orthodoxy is established is clearly, if briefly indicated; while its independence of Rome, its Eastern origin, and the essential differences between it and the Roman Church are demonstrated at greater length. The condition of the early Celtic Church is thus summarised: "The above facts present to our view a vast Celtic communion existing in Great Britain and Ireland, and sending its missions among the Teutonic tribes on the Continent, and to distant islands like Iceland; Catholic in doctrine and practice, and yet with its claims to Catholicity ignored or impugned by the Church of Rome; with a long roll of saints, every name of note on which is either that of one like St. Columbanus, taking a line wholly independent of Rome, or like Bishop Colman at the Synod of Whitby, directly in collision with her; having its own Liturgy, its own translation of the Bible, its own mode of chanting, its own monastic rule, its own cycle for the calculation of Easter; and presenting both the internal and external evidence of a complete autonomy."

This historical introduction prepares the way for a minute investigation of the peculiarities and details of the Celtic ritual, a prolonged chapter of very great interest; while that on "*Reliquiae Celticae Liturgicae*" is of singular attractiveness and value for the student of liturgical literature, to whom we very cordially commend this volume.

With much pleasure we observe that a volume on the Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church is in course of preparation by the same author.

#### COOPER'S VITAL TRUTHS.

*Self-Sacrifice: the Grandest Manifestation of the Divine, and the True Principle of Christian Life.* By the Rev. John Cooper. Hodder and Stoughton.

*The Province of Law in the Fall and Recovery of Man.* By the Rev. John Cooper. Hodder and Stoughton.

*Jesus Christ's Mode of Presenting Himself to the World.* By the Rev. John Cooper. Hodder and Stoughton.

In the first-named work Mr. Cooper asks: "Why is it that the Christian Church in the nineteenth century of her existence is not in the enjoyment of her millennial glory and bliss? Simply and only because she has not recognised and realised the grandeur, importance, and power of the principle of self-sacrifice." The aim of the volume is to enable the Church to realise more fully this sublime principle.

The second work, *The Province of Law*, is "an endeavour to place the leading facts in the religious experience of man in the order of law."

The last-mentioned work, as expressed by Professor Calderwood, who writes a prefatory note, "seeks to rest an argument for Christianity upon ultimate principles of reason, and to develop the argument by detailed consideration of the adaptation of Christ's teaching to the moral and spiritual wants of men."

We do not remember any works more difficult to characterise than these volumes. They proceed along interesting lines of investigation; they often present truths in somewhat original and suggestive aspects; there is much purity in the style; the spirit of the works is altogether exalted and good; yet the general effect is unsatisfactory. We cannot think some of the views which frequently appear in these volumes either Scriptural or philosophical. Take this, "The vicarious element enters largely into the government of the Redeemer over His Church as really, although not so conspicuously, as in His sufferings and death. Individual disciples are permitted to fall into backsliding, that through their deeper repentance, their fuller experience, their keener spirituality, they may become the more skilful, tender, and affectionate in reclaiming others." Or the theological confusion of this: "While we ought ever to keep in mind that morality is beautiful, holiness lovely and blissful, and necessary to the attainment of the higher life, we are not to look for perfection in the lives of Christ's disciples." Then the argument is

damaged by being broken up into numberless sections; and, it must be confessed, the author is rather diffuse. Professor Calderwood justly observes that Mr. Cooper's theme is of the first importance, and adds, "the treatment will repay the study." The Professor's verdict may be accepted. A reasoned or scientific exhibition of Christianity is sought by many in these days, and if our author has not been altogether successful in leading his readers through reason to faith, his attempt has still real merit and value.

#### THE KINGDOM OF GOD, &c.

*The Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Darkness.* By the Author of "Truth and Work," &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

"A PUBLISHER said to me, 'The Kingdom of God'! no one will buy a book with the title 'The Kingdom of God.' Another publisher said to me, 'The world is not yet educated to read your works.'" This is an extract from the Preface. After examining the Preface extending to nearly fifty pages, and the body of the book extending to nearly five hundred, we are compelled to agree, at least, with the second publisher's verdict. The largest part of the work consists of quotations from Scripture, which often run on by the page, but the reason or bearing of the quotations we utterly fail to see. To the rest of the work we have just as utterly failed for the most part to attach any definite or consistent meaning. We look in vain for any table of Contents, Chapter-headings, or Index, to give us any clue to the purpose of the writer. The sentences and paragraphs skip from one topic to another in the most promiscuous manner. Some of the combinations seem to us scarcely consistent with reverence, as where the eternal covenant of grace is illustrated by modern insurance. The following is one of the notes: "Let it not be thought that the creation of a queen bee is in favour of regal power. We have no reason to think that it was a work of God's creation, but we may suppose it to be a part of degenerate nature. 'The whole creation groaneth and travaileth.' See the quarrelling and murders amongst queen bees in the work, *Fairy Land of Science*." From this we inferred that the writer was arguing against monarchy; but on another page we read, "Believers in the Lord Jesus Christ, in 'the King of glory,' are not of the Radical, Liberal party of Church polity, in the usual acceptation of those terms." And in a verse of poetry in the Preface the execution of Charles is described as one of "England's crimes." At least we think that is the meaning; and on p. 464, State Churches are condemned. As prose fails to express the writer's meaning, the work abounds



in what looks like poetry, still more extraordinary than the prose. From the poem in the Preface we cull the following rhymes: "Time and divine, you and yew, on and begun, climes and signs, history and consistency, pines and crimes, land and end, wither and ever." The following is a puzzle proposed by the writer: "If a person exposes self to shelter another, and that other betrays the first to shelter self, which of the two is the possessor of 'the divine nature'?" The note on the last page is alarming: "The writer is still so dissatisfied with herself upon this subject, that, should her life be spared, a supplement to this work will be written."

#### HARPER'S METAPHYSICS OF THE SCHOOL.

*The Metaphysics of the School.* By Thomas Harper, S.J.  
Vol. II. London: Macmillan and Co. 1881.

It is well known that the present Pope in a special rescript has recommended the study of the writings of Thomas Aquinas as one of the best preservatives against the poison of modern materialistic philosophy; and in harmony with this advice Mr. Harper has set himself to reproduce the teachings of the mediæval schoolmen, of whom Thomas is the best representative. The reproduction will only be an outline, yet it will fill five bulky volumes, and require enormous labour. We sincerely wish we could think that the result will be worth the cost and trouble. We are far from denying all value and even great value to the work; but the value we assign to it is very different from that which would be claimed and is expected by the author. Mr. Harper of course would not undertake so heavy a task, unless he believed with the Pope that the revival of the scholastic philosophy will prove an antidote to modern scepticism. In our judgment there is not the remotest prospect of such a result. We might as well hope to revive the Ptolemaic astronomy, or try by the aid of that system to explain the phenomena of the material universe. Bacon and the inductive method, and in fact the whole modern world, are simply ignored. The argument proceeds as if Bacon and his school had never lived. We are as much opposed to modern sensationalism and materialism as the Pope or any other Romish divine, but it is not with the weapons of mediæval scholasticism that those false because narrow and onesided theories can be met, but by a philosophy which, while it is true to modern methods, recognises all the facts of man's spiritual nature. As a clear, compendious and doubtless accurate synopsis of scholastic teaching, Mr. Harper's work, when completed, will be of great value, but for nothing more. Almost more extraordinary than the ingenuity and subtlety of the schoolmen themselves is the attempt to re-establish their principles in the modern world. Many great

reactions have no doubt taken place, but that the thought of the world should ever return to the forms of the Middle Ages is too much to believe. For the rest, it is enough to say that the present volume deals with the Principles of Being and Causes of Being. Of the latter only the Material Cause and Formal Cause are discussed. The School doctrine of the Efficient Cause "will occupy the greater part of the next volume."

#### GIBSON'S MOSAIC ERA.

*The Mosaic Era: a Series of Lectures on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.* By J. M. Gibson, M.A., D.D., Author of "The Ages Before Moses." London: Hodder and Stoughton.

WE thoroughly agree with the author's opinion that too little use is made of the Old Testament in the Christian pulpit. The author's complaint, no doubt, applies to his own Church—the Presbyterian; but if this is the case where the necessities of a settled pastorate compel consecutive exposition of Scripture, much more we fear does the complaint hold good where there is no such compulsion. The consequent loss to preachers and people is not easily measured. Even with respect to the thorough understanding of the New Testament, which furnishes most texts to the preacher, the neglect of the Old Testament is to be regretted. How can the New be understood apart from the Old, upon which it is based? How can Apostles be understood apart from Prophets, whose teaching they presuppose and carry on? On every account the exposition of Scripture as a whole, and the rendering of due honour to the earlier covenant, which is equally divine with the new, are greatly to be desired. Nothing would more surely promote a strong and solid, because intelligent, faith in the Divine origin and authority of Scripture. Not many Christian congregations have any clear apprehension of the unity of Scripture and the relations of the several parts. Helps to such a mode of exposition were never so abundant as now. One of the many merits of German commentaries is the attention which they give to the Old Testament.

Dr. Gibson's volume is an excellent specimen of the mode of exposition so common in Presbyterian pulpits. Although not a continuous commentary, it gives the substance of the best commentaries in the form of a connected narrative. The author has not fallen into the temptation to dwell only on striking incidents, leaving wide gaps unfilled. The four books are expounded as a whole. To Sunday-school teachers and leaders of Bible-classes such a book should be invaluable. Ample information is given on such subjects as the Exodus from Egypt, the law of Sinai, the

Tabernacle, the Feasts and Sacrifices, the Wilderness-journey. The author does not deal with critical questions; but an exposition which brings out the unity and harmony of the Mosaic narrative is one of the best defences against dislocating hypotheses. The style is eminently sober and sensible. The preacher must supply the imaginative and pictorial element, for which the history gives such abundant scope.

#### FRENCH'S LIFE OF JOHN BIRCHENALL.

*The Life of John Birchenall, M.R.C.S., F.L.S., of Macclesfield.*

By the Rev. A. J. French, B.A. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1881.

METHODIST literature is rich in biography; more rich in this department than in any other. But it cannot be said to have many standard or classical works in this kind: very few that command universal attention, and do every one good. Mr. French's *Life of John Birchenall* will certainly take its place among the most select of those few. The author is happy in his subject. Dr. Birchenall was not an ordinary man: he combined in himself more of the qualities that go to make up a fascinating character than most of those whose memorials we read. He was an indefatigable student, and explored a wide variety of literature, ancient and modern, with considerable success; so that the book is very stimulating to such as are striving amidst disadvantages to cultivate their minds. He was eminent professionally, as a medical man; and a very large measure of the interest of the Memoir is due to that fact. He was a good Methodist, uniting in a manner of which we know scarcely another example the simplicity and refinement of the best Methodist culture. But, above all, he was a saint of the purest type: seeking, as not many seek, the inmost recesses of the hidden life; and finding, as not many find, the highest blessings of union with God. All this gives but a faint idea of the variety that gives this book its charm. The man who is here described was unique, in a sense in which we can apply that term to very few indeed. And we are bound to say that Mr. French has made the most skilful and the most graceful use of the diversified elements of interest placed at his disposal.

#### SHEPPARD'S THOUGHTS ON PRIVATE DEVOTION.

*Thoughts on Private Devotion.* By John Sheppard. Religious Tract Society.

THE Religious Tract Society has been well advised in publishing this reprint of a very choice devotional work, and we strongly advise our readers to procure the book for the purpose indicated

by the title. A benign serenity is often noticeable about it, which from the editor's brief account of the author's life, and from the portrait prefixed to this edition, we should judge was especially characteristic of the writer. The book was written, we are told, especially for one class, viz: reflective and questioning Christians; persons not sanguine, strong in faith, or filled with joy. The limit thus placed, mars to some extent the general acceptance of the work, since the strain of reasoning which consistently runs through it results in attaining a level far below the calm contemplative height of such works as Bishop Monrad's *World of Prayer*.

The book is really a treatise on the *education* of the mind in spiritual things: as such it has its place, and, being the product of a widely cultured and devout mind, it fills that place well.

A clearer view, however, of the Scriptural doctrines of Christian assurance and of Christian perfection would have altered materially such passages as that on page 90, and would have given a brightness and hopeful expectancy to the writer which must have added much to the usefulness of his thoughtful and valuable little work.

We regret that the good name of the Religious Tract Society should suffer by such blemishes as the following:—"Plenitude," "Appenine," "devisable" for "divisible," "disease" for decease.

#### REPORT OF THE ŒCUMENICAL CONFERENCE.

*Report of the First Œcumenical Methodist Conference, held in London, September, 1881.* Wesleyan Conference Office.

WE are sorry this volume has reached us too late for anything like an analysis of its valuable contents. The doings of this great assembly were however too widely known to need any publication on our part; and many will be glad to possess the permanent memorial of its manifold utterances which this substantial volume will afford them. We have no doubt it will have a very large circulation in all parts of the Methodist world.

#### WINCHELL'S SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

*Science and Religion.* By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. London: Strahan and Co.

THIS work—of American origin—brings under review most of the questions in debate between science and faith. The different essays are connected by a common subject and aim. There is abundant evidence of wide reading and independent thought. The least satisfactory portion of the work is perhaps the summary

of the history of philosophy in the second and third chapters. Think of the whole history of philosophy, Eastern and Western, ancient and modern, packed into forty-five pages. Even this part of the author's task is done with considerable ability, but such bald outlines are very unsatisfactory. The other chapters are original and really able discussions of such topics as Causality, Design, and the Testimony of Reason and Nature to God. To intelligent, studious youth the work cannot fail to be instructive and stimulating.

#### HOOD'S CHRISTMAS EVANS.

*Christmas Evans: the Preacher of Wild Wales. His Country, his Times, and his Contemporaries.* By the Rev. Paxton Hood. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

WE had often in our Welsh rambles heard the fame of the great preachers of the Principality of half a century ago, but had never been able to get at the secret of their great popularity, nor to image the men to our own minds. Mr. Hood's work has filled the gap: his lifelike delineations have done much to warm our hearts towards these grand old men, and especially towards his chief hero—Christmas Evans. The religious history of Wales for the last century is a phenomenon as well worth study as that of England. All who wish to pursue the study must get this book.

#### JESSOP'S METHODISM IN ROSSENDALE.

*Methodism in Rossendale.* By the Rev. William Jessop. Manchester: Tubbs, Brook and Chrystal.

LOCAL religious histories often err by the very limited scope of their inquiries, being composed either of scraps of biographies, unskillfully pieced together, or of statistics of progress and revolutions of the ecclesiastical machinery hardly interesting to the general public. This is not the fault of the present history. Individuals of course must always figure largely in a work like this, but the connection with the entire body of the People called Methodists is also kept in view, and certain topics of general interest are discussed in a way that tends to give the volume a permanent value. To the author this work has evidently been a labour of love, and to his readers it will be a refreshing reminder of the triumphs of the Gospel through the instrumentality of Methodism.

## II. MISCELLANEOUS.

## ROSSETTI'S BALLADS AND SONNETS.

*Ballads and Sonnets.* By Dante Gabriel Rossetti. London : Ellis and White. 1881.

THIS volume wakens an old grudge of ours against Mr. Rossetti. Why is it that he, who is doubly an artist, should manifest himself to us, of the general public, in one phase of his art only? We are not unaware that even this partial manifestation seems to have cost him a pang. For many years it was not merely the goddess who presides over his painting that held bashfully aloof from vulgar and profane eyes. The muse of his poetry also

"Sang darkling, and in shadiest covert hid  
Tuned her nocturnal note"—

which, being translated into dull prose, means that some of his verse had circulated long in manuscript before he cared to sanction its publication in his earlier volume. But when that first step had been taken—and we all know how little every after step costs by comparison—why did not the pictures follow? If the Academy is unworthy, or offers no sufficient guarantees of adequate light, space, or position, there is the Grosvenor Gallery, fully ready, if report says true, to offer to Mr. Rossetti the largest and most liberal hospitality. But no; year after year we are tantalised by the glowing descriptions of those art critics who are admitted to the temple, and we have to see its glories through their eyes—undimmed, as one hopes, by religious light or incense. We get a glimpse now and again at Messrs. Christie's sale-rooms, or it may be at a private house. But that full knowledge of a painter's productions which results from their public exhibition—a knowledge which can thus, and thus only, be acquired at full leisure, and in perfect intellectual freedom—that is denied us, and it comforts us not at all to think that we, and not Mr. Rossetti, are the losers.

Why, however, should the publication of this volume specially reawaken that old grudge of ours? Because there can be so little doubt that the pictures and poems would throw on each other a light both of interest and instruction. Mr. Hüffer, in the memoir attached to the Tauchnitz edition of Mr. Rossetti's earlier volume, tells us as much, and even more. "The two faculties (pictorial and poetical) are," he says, "blended in Rossetti so perfectly that it



would be almost impossible to fully comprehend the one without the other. Only he who has been fortunate enough to admire in the artist's studio those wonderfully deep representations of the noblest womanly types can appreciate the mysterious charms of his Blessed Damozel . . . or of Lilith, the first wife of Adam, whose dangerous long hair we know from Mephisto's description." Without going quite to this length, we are fully prepared to admit that if we knew the pictures we should understand the true spirit of the poems better. And our partial ignorance is the more galling that there are few subjects of greater interest at the present moment than the connection between literature and art and science on the one hand, and action on the other, and the growing influence which, whether for good or evil, literature is exercising on art, science, and action.

That some painters paint from a literary rather than a pictorial inspiration seems to us unquestionable. The opposite phenomenon of poets writing from a purely pictorial inspiration—thinking in form and colour—is not unknown, but is rarer. We may find an example of it in *Les Champs et la Mer* of M. Jules Breton, the great French painter—a book in which there is scarcely any thought, in a literary sense, only a reproduction in words of what he would otherwise have given us with his brush—the result being, somewhat strangely, that the word-pictures are far less thought-stirring than the paint-pictures. No very serious similar fault can be found with Mr. Rossetti's poems. Whether the opposite fault could be charged to his pictures we cannot tell, for the reasons already suggested. But the poems are for the most part genuinely poems, and born of a fully sufficient poetical inspiration. No doubt we are often reminded of the author's other art. Several of the sonnets are headed "For a picture"—"*per un quadro*"—an expression that was, curiously enough, rather a favourite one with André Chénier. Several more are distinctly "translations into song" of pictures by the author himself, or others. In nearly all the poems too there are passages showing a peculiarly keen eye for visual effect. But that faculty nearly all genuine poets have. No, our impression would rather be—though, as we have already said, want of a fuller knowledge reduces the impression to great tenuity—that in the balance of Mr. Rossetti's art, if there be a difference in the perfect equipoise, the beam inclines rather to the pictures being literary than the poems pictorial.

But, as the Frere said to the wife of Bath,

"This is a long preamble of a tale."

Let us linger no more over our introduction, especially as it consists for the main part of an avowal of grudging ignorance, but press forward into the volume before us.

That volume is divided into four distinct sections. The first contains three ballads; the second, which is called the "House of Life," is subdivided into two parts, entitled respectively "Youth and Change" and "Change and Fate," and consists of some ninety sonnets; the third embraces a dozen or so of detached "lyrics;" and the fourth is a smaller collection of miscellaneous sonnets. Let us take the first of these sections first.

"Rose Mary," the first of the ballads, is a tale of "grammarge"—the story of a mystic beryl-stone that

"With shuddering light was stirred and strewn  
Like the cloud-nest of the waning moon:  
Freaked it was as the bubble's ball,  
Rainbow-hued through a misty pall  
Like the middle light of the waterfall.

"Shadows dwelt in its teeming girth  
Of the known and unknown things of earth;  
The cloud above and the wave around,  
The central fire at the sphere's heart bound,  
Like doomsday prisoned underground."

This beryl-stone has the faculty of picturing any distant scene truly to pure eyes, but to pure eyes alone, and Rose Mary, by her mother's direction, follows therein the path her lover is to take, and seeks to discover where his foes are lurking in ambush. But, alas! for poor Rose Mary, she had lost the attribute that could compel the stone to mirror truthfully. Through her sin evil spirits have regained possession of the talisman. They cause it to render back to her a false image. Her lover takes the road he should not have taken, and is killed. And through his death the mother learns her daughter's shame, while the daughter's shame is to herself intensified with a double guilt as of murder. Nor do the mother's sorrows end here, for she finds on the knight's corpse that which shows that he is false to her daughter. This knowledge Rose Mary is spared, for, when her mother leaves her side, she finds the chamber where the beryl is enshrined, and cleaves it in twain with her father's sword, dying herself in the act, but at the same time triumphing over the evil spirits of the beryl.

Of the power with which this weird story is told—the graphic force of the descriptions, the skill with which the singularly tragical situations are set forth, the music of such passages as this:

"Even as she spoke they two were 'ware  
Of music notes that fell through the air;  
A chiming shower of strange device,  
Drop echoing drop, once, twice, and thrice,  
As rain may fall in Paradise."

Of this power, we say, there can be no question at all. We confess

to caring very little for the spirits of the beryl, and regarding their three song-interludes with their rung changes on "beryl" and "sterile," as not pertinent. Nor do we quite see—but here we are very possibly mistaken—what artistic effect is obtained by making the knight so altogether forsworn. But these are moles only.

The second ballad does not deal at all with the supernatural. It purports to be the narrative of the one survivor from the wreck of the *White Ship*, which sank on the 25th November, 1120, bearing down the son of Henry I. of England, who, to use Mrs. Hemans's words, "never smiled again." This too, like the first, is a fine ballad, though we think the stanza in which it is written a little unfortunate. Two short lines, and then a halt, do not afford scope enough for a narrative. We feel cramped, and want freer space. It is quite a question whether the burden, or refrain, which was evidently originally intended to find a place between each of the verses, would not be a welcome addition. But here we feel rather like Mr. Brooke, in *Middlemarch*: a discussion on burdens and refrains would obviously "lead us too far," especially as we have not, up to the present point, discussed more than a fourth of the book before us.

The third ballad is again historical—though here too, as in the first, the supernatural plays a part. The story is that of the life and death of King James I. of Scots, who wrote *The King's Quhair*, and was foully done to death at Perth on the 20th of February, 1437. It purports, like the *White Ship*, to be the narrative of a contemporary and eye-witness—of none other indeed than that Catherine Douglas, who thrust her arm through the door bolts to bar the assassins from the chamber in which the King lay hid, and earned to herself the name of Kate Barlass.

To this ballad there are, as it seems to us, two obvious objections. The first is that it covers too large a chronological space. The attempt to crowd the story of a whole career into one comparatively short poem is, it seems to us, a mistake. The result is that now and again, as in Mr. Rossetti's earlier poem on *Dante at Verona*, the narrative sinks into prose. We are certainly not advocates of the observance of the unities, especially in ballads, but still a greater concentration of the interest on the final catastrophe, and its consequences, would here have been a gain. The second objection is to a certain modern ring in this story as told by a supposed contemporary. Mr. Browning has accustomed us to a more persistent tone of historical verisimilitude. But in this Mr. Rossetti scarcely follows him. His own art, almost throughout, is so great, we may add so attractive, a mixture of modernness and archaism, that probably he finds it difficult to be archaic altogether.

But, when these objections have been made, let us not forget to

do full honour to a noble poem, full of human passion and passages of a weird descriptive power :

"That eve was clenched for a boding storm  
 'Neath a toilsome moon half seen ;  
 The cloud stooped low and the surf rose high ;  
 And where there was a line in the sky,  
 Wild wings loomed dark between."

Or again :

"For every man on God's ground, O King,  
 His death grows up from his birth  
 In a shadow plant perpetually ;  
 And thine towers high, a black yew-tree,  
 O'er the Charterhouse of Perth !"

We are, however, leaving ourselves scant space to speak of the sonnets and other poems, the finest of the latter being, to our thinking—and it is very fine—that entitled "The Cloud Confines." Yet of the sonnets especially somewhat must be spoken.

They too are fine, very fine. We may make what reserves we will—say that they want simplicity, urge that the language especially is sometimes as artificial, as wanting in plain directness, as the much decried "poetic diction" of the last century ; as, for instance, when ink is spoken of as "the smooth black stream that makes" the "whiteness" of a love-letter "fair," or the stars as "night's fair fires," or a wedding ring is described as a "girdling golden bar" that "quickens" the "bride's finger pulses," or flowers referred to as

"Marshall'd marvels on the skirts of May."

We may, if we like, stop at such points as these. But if we do, we shall only show that we are incapable of appreciating some most admirable poetry. Sonnets, for reasons which it were too long to explain, happen to be a very favourite form of composition just now ; and there are several living writers, not, perhaps, to be called great poets, who can turn out their fourteen lines deftly and skilfully. But Mr. Rossetti can do much more. He has in the first place mainly something to say—and mere empty mechanism is the bane of the sonnet. His language, too, is peculiarly charged with colour and melody. Though, as we have said, it occasionally degenerates into artificiality, yet that very artificiality is only a beauty run to seed—the overblowing of a kind of Shakespearian flower or efflorescence. We can pluck blossoms that are still in their perfection from almost every page. But perhaps, instead of doing this, it will be better to quote two whole sonnets as fair samples of the rest. The first, which we have chosen for quotation, though it had already appeared in the poet's earlier volume,\* is entitled "Lost Days."

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\* Many of the sonnets republished in this volume had already appeared in Mr. Rossetti's earlier volume.

"The lost days of my life until to-day  
 What were they, could I see them on the street  
 Lie as they fell? Would they be ears of wheat,  
 Sown once for food but trodden into clay?  
 Or golden coins squandered and still to pay?  
 Or drops of blood dabbling the guilty feet?  
 Or such spilt water as in dreams must cheat  
 The undying throats of Hell, athirst alway?

"I do not see them here, but after death  
 God knows I know the faces I shall see,  
 Each one a murdered self, with low last breath.  
 'I am thyself—what hast thou done to me?'  
 'And I—and I—thyself (lo! each one saith),  
 'And thou thyself to all eternity.'"

The next is on the "Place de la Bastille, Paris."

"How dear the sky has been above this place!  
 Small treasures of this sky that we see here,  
 Seen weak through prison bars from year to year;  
 Eyed with a painful prayer upon God's grace  
 To save, and tears that strayed along the face  
 Lifted at sunset. Yea, how passing dear  
 Those nights when through the bars a wind left clear  
 The heaven, and moonlight soothed the limpid space!

"So was it, till one night the secret kept  
 Safe in low vault and stealthy corridor  
 Was blown abroad in gospel-tongues of flame.  
 O ways of God, mysterious evermore!  
 How many on this spot have cursed and wept  
 That all might stand here now and own Thy name."

Of the lyrics we should like to have quoted the "Cloud Confines," and some of the verses of "Soothsay;" but one can't quote everything in this world of limitations, and so we close our notice of this great work of a genuine poet, merely asking the reader to remember, if he be tempted to think we have tempered praise with too much of grudging and carping, that we have been applying to the book the very highest standard—a standard that in itself implies high admiration.

#### SHAIRP'S ASPECTS OF POETRY.

*Aspects of Poetry. Being Lectures Delivered at Oxford.* By John Campbell Shairp, LL.D., Professor of Poetry, Oxford, Principal of the United College, St. Andrew's. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1881.

THE Oxford Professor of Poetry is but little concerned to magnify his office; for, while contributing to critical literature a

suggestive, thoughtful, and conscientious series of lectures delivered from the professorial chair, he does not lose many opportunities of saying hard things of criticism; and he even goes so far as to contend that criticism is what our American cousins term "played out." It is, perhaps, the strongest proof of a conscientious performance of an office not to shrink from any avowal which may tend to support the thesis that that office is obsolete. A Professor of Poetry should be first of all a critic: indeed, the most distinguished Professor of Poetry Oxford has boasted for many a long year is perhaps the best critic now living in England, as he was when he sat in the seat where Principal Shairp now sits: it is not necessary to add that that Professor of Poetry was also one of the first half-dozen English poets of that day and this, to let our readers know that we allude to Mr. Matthew Arnold. The salient feature in Mr. Arnold's criticisms is not so much their admirable insight and delicacy of apprehension, as their constructiveness—we had almost said creativeness; for the highest criticism is essentially creative. And had Mr. Arnold "been two, another and" himself, he "might have overtopped the world." Had he been three, two others and himself, he must have overtopped the modern world of criticism. That is to say, there are qualities in Mr. Ruskin that are not shown in the work of Mr. Arnold, while in the unballasted critical work of Mr. Swinburne there is a catholicity of admiration and an absolute certainty of perceiving any existing excellence wheresoever, absent from both the other critics. Combine the best qualities of these three men, and the result would be a truly great critic—perhaps a greater critic than Goethe. Is such a critic worth the while of civilisation to make? Emphatically we answer "Yes!" "No," we take it, says Professor Shairp, "the critic has had his day," in perfect unconcern that a series of lectures on poetry must be criticism or nothing.

This trifling difference of attitude does not much affect our appreciation of the Lectures before us. In spite of the theory that criticism has done enough, and more than enough, Principal Shairp lends himself to his supererogatory work (supererogatory from his point of view, but not from ours) with a firm and honest intention to do good for the cause of poetry in the way that criticism alone can do it. He sets forth fairly what he conceives to be the province of poetry, deals with the spiritual and creative side of the art of arts, justly censures such heresies as the exaltation of style into the place of that combination of emotion and thought which should rule in poetry, duly sets up those whose example he deems the best to be followed, and does not flinch from the iconoclast's task of trying to depress such fame as he thinks unduly inflated. The only part of the book in which there is any room for suspecting the least retention of opinion is the lecture on Shelley as a Lyric Poet, which appeared some time ago in *Fraser's Magazine*,



and need not now be specially dwelt on, though it is at least as noteworthy as any other single section. We need only explain, in passing, that the grudging spirit in which the meed of praise for lyric craftsmanship is here awarded, and the bitterness of several by-references, seem to indicate an uncritical attitude of detestation that it was perhaps quite as well to have more implied than expressed. It is to be put to the count of conscientious endeavour after the truth that the whole spirit of the book is very Scotch. Burns (may the shadow of his laurels never be less than now !) is glorified very highly ; Wordsworth is dealt with in prominent connexion with the Scottish stream which prompted him to write three beautiful poems—not, in our judgment, “three of Wordsworth’s most exquisite lyrics,” as Professor Shairp lays down ; we have a lecture on the Homeric Spirit in Walter Scott, another on “Prose Poets,” typified by Thomas Carlyle ; another on “Ossian ;” and another on Modern Gaelic Bards and Duncan MacIntyre.

This Caledonian element of the book is by no means undesirable as qualifying and tincturing the expositions of poetry unrolled before the mixed Oxford audiences. It is extremely suggestive to hear of unheard of Gaelic Bards, and to be told of a specially Homeric element in Walter Scott ; and those who regard the Bards as poeticules, and the Homeric element in Walter Scott as an intangible Caledonian vapour, are yet pleased at the unfolding of a patriotic enthusiasm which has much to say for itself, albeit rather suggestive than convincing. That splendid romancist, Walter Scott, will never be stinted of his due fame on this side the Tweed, and least of all by us ; but we confess that the “Homeric element” in his *Lord of the Isles* and *Marmion* is to us an almost infinitesimal quantity. His glory is not in those works, but in his prose romances and novels ; and, to us, it seems unfair to Burns to call Scott Scotland’s greatest poet. Greater than Burns he may be, but not as a poet. We cannot concede to him the place of an epic poet ; and, although he produced in addition to his magnificent prose works some admirable ballads and songs, and interspersed his long romantic poems with fine ringing passages, the case, as stated in his favour by Professor Shairp, is hardly made out. At page 398, we read as follows : “It will be said, I am aware, that in Scott’s romantic poems, though heroic subjects are handled, yet neither the subject nor the poem rises to the true dignity of the epic. That they are regular epics, as those are defined by the canons of the critics, no one would contend. But that they abound in the epic element, as no other English poems abound, cannot be gainsaid. In subject, neither *Marmion* nor *The Lord of the Isles* falls below the epic pitch, unless it be that the whole history of Scotland is inadequate to furnish material for an epic. And as to

form, if the large admixture of the romantic incident and treatment be held to mar the epic dignity, this does not hinder that these poems rise to the true epic height, in such passages as the battle of Flodden, and the priest's benediction of the Bruce."

Spirited as those particular passages are, we cannot go so far as Professor Shairp goes in admiration of them. Homeric hero-worship there is; but Homeric art is wholly wanting; and the passages are more snatches of fine ballad poetry than anything else. As to the comparison challenged between these poems and the remainder of English poetry, we are bold to say that the ballad literature of England is far fuller of the epic element than Scott's poems, even *The Lord of the Isles* and *Marmion*, and that the term *Homeric* is as applicable to many a ballad as to those works or passages of works. The closing words on the Homeric element in Scott (page 406) are:—"To have awakened and kept alive in an artificial and too money-loving age 'that character of mind which we call romantic,' which, by transformation, can become something so much beyond itself, is, even from the severest moral point of view, no mean merit. To higher than this few poets can lay claim. But let the critics praise him, or let them blame. It matters not. His reputation will not wane, but will grow with time. Therefore we do well to make much of Walter Scott. He is the only Homer who has been vouchsafed to Scotland—I might almost say to modern Europe. He came at the latest hour when it was possible for a great epic minstrel to be born. And the altered conditions of the world will not admit of another."

It is on the last two propositions that we dissent; for we cannot admit either that he was a Homer or that we can have no more epic poets.

In the early part of the book there is a covert depreciation of Mr. Morris, on the ground that the Teutonic mind can only take a passing interest in Greek heroes and demi-gods. But in its own heroes and demi-gods the Teutonic mind may be expected to take a lasting interest; and in these latter years an epic, dealing with those heroes and demi-gods in a startlingly large and splendid manner, has been put forth. There is nothing in all Scott's poetry for a serious moment comparable with Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs*, a poem which will have its day when the world has had time to receive it, although the next six Professors of Poetry at the University of Oxford may ignore its astonishing merits of conception, construction, and sheer poetic beauty, and, most remarkable of all, its "epic dignity."

Every one who is warmly interested in poetic questions should read *Aspects of Poetry*. Probably no one will agree with all he finds in this or any other book of criticism; but it is a stimulating volume, and repays study, whether by instruction direct, or by incitement to think the matter out and come to a different conclusion.

## INGLEBY'S OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON SHAKESPEARE.

*Occasional Papers on Shakespeare: Being the Second Part of Shakespeare: the Man and the Book.* By C. M. Ingleby, M.A., LL.D., V.P.R.S.L. London: Printed by Josiah Allen of Birmingham, and Published by Trübner & Co., 57 & 59, Ludgate Hill. 1881.

ON taking up a handsome small quarto like that of which the title is given above, one is liable to ignore the title and expect too much. Dr. Ingleby is a critic of a highly cultivated intelligence; and a quarto of 200 pages, issued with no name but his in the title-page, should be entertaining and instructive reading for at least a day or two. But this book is not entertaining and instructive reading for more than two or three hours; and we are called back by its title of *Occasional Papers* to excuse the slightness of the more solid portions, which have been mingled with sundry trivialities to make what has the general air of an inflated appendix sumptuously printed, and reminds us of the silly transaction books of the so-called society which is losing most of its respectable members for want of a responsible organisation to prevent abuse. About one-half of this book is occupied in displaying the Dutch-doll-jointed ingenuity of the industrious Mr. Fleay, whose metrical tests and test-tables are a weariness to the flesh, and an affliction to the spirit of any one rash enough to enter upon them with the hope of profit. It is a pity that Dr. Ingleby should yoke himself in such company to a lumbering vehicle of the kind dragged through these hundred or so of pages; and a pity that he has so far caught the purist affectation of what we may term pan-Saxonism, as to write about "the tongue of Shakespeare." The fearful reader, seeing forty pages on "the tongue of Shakespeare" preceding a hundred or so of industrious Fleayics, is half disposed to suspect that the discoverer or inventor of the Kesselstadt mask has rummaged up an anatomical preparation of the immortal bard's lingual member, or some one else's sufficiently near the proportions of the Stratford bust to be identified with Shakespeare. But not so; the forty pages on "the tongue of Shakespeare" are really about the language employed in Shakespeare's plays; and they are the main part of the two or three hours' entertainment and instruction which this pretty book affords. They are very well worth reading, not only for students, but for any one who wants to understand how difficult Shakespeare has been made by the stupidity of successive editors, how easy he generally is if those editors are eliminated, and what the real difficulties are that both student and general reader have to deal with. From an excellent paper of a dozen pages on "Shakespeare's play-work," which closes the volume, we quote the following passage:

"One of the best among the *Proverbs of Syr Oracle Martext* runs thus :

"There is no good worke that is not plaie, and it is surely unquestionable that what a man does best is among the things he does most easily. On the contrary, there are men so devoid of that natural adroitness, that sense of beauty, proportion, and decency, which characterise the artist, that their recreations are taken hardly, and their very proflusions are painful and laborious exercises. It is indeed a profound satire on human nature when we see men weighed down with trifles, and laboriously employed in the production of light literature."

Syr Oracle Martext's *Proverbs*, Dr. Ingleby tells us, are in a manuscript which he is editing. What, we wonder, would Syr Oracle have to say about the ponderous playfulness of the metrical texts of Shakespeare, in whose vicinity his editor has here placed him? In another quarter of a hundred pages of the book, the career of W. H. Ireland, the Shakesperean forger, is very well told by Dr. Ingleby himself, not by Mr. Fleay. The story of that career would form an interesting, even a romantic and a polite chapter in a work devoted to the criminal classes; but we do not think a man of this kind merits to have his biography hung up in any Shakespeare memorial institution. More than one attempt has been made to classify this insignificant piece of literary obliquity with Thomas Chatterton, whose genius, not his obliquity, is the salient point, and whose obliquity even resulted from pressing external circumstances at least as much as from innate bent. Chatterton and Ireland? Pshaw! we are almost ashamed to write the two names together; but no less a man than "Orion" Horne has done so, and this makes it all the more necessary to protest. A fit subject enough is Ireland for an "occasional paper;" but if such a paper is to accompany more serious work about Shakespeare, it should of course be treated with some degree of ignominy; and that perhaps is what dictated to Dr. Ingleby's finer sense the course he has pursued of nailing "The Literary Career of a Shakespeare Forger" against the back-door of Mr. Fleay's test-tables.

#### TYLOR'S ANTHROPOLOGY.

*Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilisation.* By Edward B. Tylor, D.C.L., F.R.S. Illustrated. London: Macmillan and Co. 1881.

ANTHROPOLOGY, the youngest of the sciences, is a key and an introduction to all the others. It tells whence they sprang and how they grew, and its study "will lighten rather than increase the strain of learning." Hence the *raison d'être* of the present work, which, in less than 450 pages, treats of all ages of man's

history, of all races of mankind, of all branches of arts and science.

The first chapter raises the question of the antiquity of man. The probability of the unity of the origin of mankind being accepted, the immense time required for the development of races is sought to be demonstrated from the slow rate of change in historic times. The evidence of geology, archæology, philology, and of the growth of civilisation, are all regarded as pointing to slow development through a pre-historic period of untold duration, which no attempt is made to estimate. The great principle is enunciated, that "no stage of civilisation comes into existence spontaneously, but grows, or is developed out of the stage before it." At the same time most interesting proofs are given that a new stage is not always one of progress, but that a fall from a higher to a lower state has been no rare event in the history of nations.

In examining next the relation of man to other animals, the Darwinian hypothesis is explained. Many, perhaps now the majority, of zoologists accept the theory, Mr. Tylor says, but he abstains from discussing it here. In view of Sir W. Thomson's calculations as to the period of time since the earth was first habitable, it would be interesting to know how much the joint demands of anthropology and evolution for time would amount to.

The physical and mental qualities to which man owes his supremacy are next indicated. Then follows a most interesting chapter on the races of mankind, interspersed with some excellent illustrations of specimens of various races, including a striking collection of "moderately-handsome females" of diverse nationalities. Such topics as the varying liability to disease, and the relative susceptibility of education in different races, and the effect of town life on physical condition, are discussed in a clear and suggestive way. It is shown, moreover, that men are all of one species, and have no differences so extreme as those found between different breeds of the same species in other animals.

The origin and growth of language are next discussed. No one theory is accepted exclusively, but the various ways in which sounds have become connected with thoughts, and the various devices by which languages are built up, are indicated. In applying these considerations to questions of race, the fallacies to which philology may lead are pointed out. It is shown that nations closely allied in race may speak widely different languages, and *vice versa*. And there are perhaps fifty or a hundred families of language which, as the author hints, have no proved relation to one another.

By a natural transition we pass from spoken to written language. The development of writing from imitative pictures—imitative pictures with determinate signs, becoming at last inde-

pendent of phonetic characters—is admirably described and illustrated; and it is shown that “the Brahman writes his Veda, the Moslem his Koran, the Jew his Old, and the Christian his New Testament, in signs which had their origin on the temple walls in ancient Egypt.” A plea for English spelling-reform is found in the calculation that “on an average, a year of an English child’s education is wasted in overcoming the defects of the present mode of spelling.”

The hundred pages devoted to the Arts of Life are full of interest. We are taken from primitive flints to steam-engines, from “blow-tubes” to breech-loading rifles, from caves and huts to modern dwelling-houses; we find history in the cut of a dress-coat or the band round a “top-hat;” we learn how cart-wheels were first constructed by making sections of the trunks of trees; how the first mills were simply hollowed stone, with a rounded stone worked in them by hand; how the primitive digging-stick developed into the hoe, and then into the plough; and how offensive and defensive weapons grew from clubs and sharpened flints, and from imitations of the natural weapons of animals. Shirts were first made by stripping several feet of bark entire from a tree-trunk and cutting armholes therein; from pointed logs and “dug-outs” have grown the navies of the modern world.

The wide-spread passion for ornament is seen in the African belle, who walks about with her limbs covered with large copper rings, and followed by an attendant with a waterpot to sluice them when they become inconveniently hot; and in the tendency of each tribe to exaggerate its own distinctive feature, leading to the prevalence of fashionable distortions. Civilisation tends to discard these venerable customs, we are told, and we are glad to hear it. The use of intoxicants, the development of total abstinence principles (which are no mere modern growth), fire-lighting, glass-blowing, coinage, and commerce are traced to their birth. This part of the story ends with a good word for Free Trade.

We pass next to the arts of pleasure, natural fondness for rhythm, rhyme, and alliteration; and the expression of thought in metaphor, when men could express it in no other way, gave birth to poetry. The harmonies obtained from a reed were probably the origin of the musical scale. The twang of the bow-string led to its use as a musical instrument; as, for instance, amongst the Zulus, who despised the bow in war as a cowardly weapon. From this came the harp, from the harp the piano. After music comes dancing, with which also the origin of the drama is intimately connected. The growth of painting and sculpture are carefully traced to their rudest beginnings, and the chapter concludes with a pleasing account of the history of games, which will repay study.



The survey of the growth of science is necessarily very hurried, but evidence is given of the state of scientific knowledge amongst the nations of antiquity, of the abeyance and distortion of science in the Middle Ages, and of its revival in later times. The astonishing rapidity and magnitude of the growth of science in the last two centuries, its extreme disproportion to any previous rate of development, might perhaps have been made more prominent. In discussing the origin of the science of time-marking no mention is made of the origin of the *week*. This is a serious omission, for if historical research makes anything certain, it is that the institution of the week is the corner-stone of ancient chronology.

In the chapter on "The Spirit World," an account is given of the origins of the religions of mankind, and of the various ways in which unenlightened nations have conceived, or may have conceived, their ideas of the soul, of future life, of prayers, and of deities. No reference is made to revealed religion, nor is its possibility hinted at. In this chapter Christianity, the great faith of the modern world, is not mentioned, the inference left to be drawn from the chapter being, that the above natural ideas of religion have in time acquired a moral influence, and have spontaneously developed the purest morality which the world has ever known.

History and mythology are next treated of; the value of traditions is illustrated by certain remarkable cases in which they have received historical verification; the origin of the Aryan and other mythologies are sketched; and the historical value of mythological history is shown to lie in the light which it sheds on the state of mental development of the nations who received it as true.

The concluding chapter is devoted to sociology. It describes the marriage customs of various nations, the growth of the family, and the recognition of the principle that morality is the method of happiness. It describes the growth of the power of public opinion, and of our modern conceptions of the sacredness of human life. A man's life, as the author puts it, was first made sacred from members of his own family and tribe: these broader principles asserted themselves. In a similar way he traces the development of the rights of property, even to the sentiments and laws by which they are secured.

No reference is made to any Divine law—the law of the Israelites concerning the Cities of Refuge the writer adduces as an illustration of the law of blood vengeance "in course of being" gradually modified by the civilisation which in time ousts it altogether. Lastly, we have the rise of criminal and civil law set forth, and the development of government from the patriarchal system to a representative legislature. The present stage of human

civilisation the author finally describes as a passing from the condition of unconscious to that of conscious progress.

Our readers will not think that the whole development of man from darkness to light, from vice to purity, can be explained without any reference to the revelation of the will of God to man; and the writer's treatment of the moral and social aspects of his subject is, in our judgment, vitally defective and misleading. From his standpoint, we fear, it could not be otherwise. But very much of this lucid and interesting and suggestive treatise will repay perusal, nor will any one put it down without a greatly stimulated thirst for knowledge of the various branches of anthropology. Appended to the work is a list of selected books for further study.

#### COSSA'S GUIDE TO POLITICAL ECONOMY.

*Guide to the Study of Political Economy.* By Dr. Luigi Cossa. With Preface by W. Stanley Jevons, LL.D., F.R.S. London: Macmillan.

THE above work is quite unique in England, both as to aim and contents. In strict accordance with the title, it is not a treatise on, but a guide to, political economy. The general part, which forms a third of the work, deals briefly but clearly with such topics as the definition and division of the sciences, its relation to other sciences, its method and importance, and common objections brought against it. It is, however, the historical part which gives its distinctive character to the work. Here we have a survey of all that has been done in this field from the earliest times to the present. No country, or school, or theory is omitted. The writers mentioned number several hundreds, and of the views of the more important a brief synopsis is given. So many writers imply, of course, more students. We confess to a feeling of surprise at the extent of literature in a field which is not generally regarded as the most attractive. If all the works on the subject were written with the same lucidity and interest as Professor Cossa's, the science would become still more popular. Full justice is done to British economists—from Adam Smith, and earlier, to Fawcett and Jevons. But the chief interest and value of the work to Englishmen will lie in the information given respecting foreign authors, especially those of France and Italy. Beginners could have no better introduction and advanced students no more trustworthy guide in further explanations. We should be glad to think that the following suggestions were at all within the range of "practical politics." "In like manner such a study, though merely elementary, would be most useful to common labourers. It would help them to understand the true

nature of their interests and the just way to obtain them compatibly with due respect to the rights of others. From political economy they may learn the utility of capital, its true economic function, the necessity of labour, of providence, of saving, the laws of wages, the misfortunes that almost always arise from idleness, the usefulness and conditions of success of savings banks, of co-operation, &c. The competent instruction of labourers in political economy, imparted in a popular form, would secure to society the incalculable benefit of freedom from many crises, and other dangers. It would form a rampart against those subversive doctrines which are too often published, and which find an easy access to the uncultivated minds and excited fancies of the working classes."

#### MADAME DE REMUSAT'S LETTERS.

*A Selection from the Letters of Madame de Rémusat to her Husband and Son from 1804 to 1813.* From the French. By Mrs. Cashel Hoey and Mrs. John Lillie. Sampson Low and Co.

*The Marriages of the Bonapartes.* By the Hon. D. A. Bingham. Two Vols. Longmans and Co.

MAD. DE REMUSAT'S Memoirs, edited by her son Charles, were, not long ago, laid before the British public by the same translators; and readers have not yet forgotten the light they threw on the uncomely features of the first Napoleon's character—his total disregard of others' feelings, his harshness, and the cynical brutality with which he behaved to womankind in general. The memoirs ended abruptly with the divorce and the meditated invasion of Spain. The letters, selected from those published by the grandson Paul, belong mostly to a later date, when M. de Rémusat, as Grand Chamberlain, was away in attendance on the emperor. They have been selected with the view of illustrating the writer's characteristic qualities, among which faithfulness to the discarded Joséphine was pre-eminent. They are full of that somewhat ceremonious tenderness which is the fashion with French wives, full also of sketches, such as Horace used to indulge in, of the delights of rural life. Here is one: "I picture to myself a pretty place in the country where we could educate our children; a kind and beloved friend whose side I should scarcely ever leave; and *la cara libertà*. How delicious; let us labour for so sweet a future"—full, too, of motherly rejoicing in the brilliant promise of her elder son, while here and there we catch a glimpse of what her editor has done his best to suppress, her sorrowing over the almost imbecile son who died, still a child in mind and body, at the age of twenty-eight.

Mad. de Rémusat was worried a good deal, in her husband's absence, with the squabbles of the actors and actresses at the Comédie Française; but, as she wrote very often, trifles like Mdle. Georges acting at Amiens a day or two after she had asked leave of absence to go to her dying father, helped to fill up her letters. She was behind the scenes, and her Memoirs testify most fully to her keen sense of the emperor's coarseness, but still she could not escape the fascination of his greatness. "You must," she writes, "have been very glad to see the emperor. We are wishing for him here;" and then she describes how her son Charles had made a drawing of Napoleon at his toilet, and the European sovereigns each handing him one of his garments.

About politics she says less than about court and family gossip, but what she does say is interesting. In May, 1805, she writes about "the Toulon fleet, and the wonderful success of all the emperor's designs, and the extraordinary incapacity of the English in always letting us slip between their fingers. . . . Our two sorties, the hopeful party thinks, give some chance of peace. On the other hand, the gloomy and discontented ones assert that the English are only allowing us to assemble our naval forces in order to attack us at sea. . . . For my own part, you may imagine, from my love of my own country and my hatred of England, that I am delighted at this prosperous beginning." The grumblers were right, after all; for within six months was fought the battle of Trafalgar. Of Benningen, the Russian commander in 1806, she hears that it was he who struck the first blow when Paul I. was assassinated, knocking down the hussar who guarded the door, and then dragging the emperor from behind the screen where he was hiding. The gathering of crowned heads at Erfurth, in October, 1808, impressed Mad. de Rémusat very strongly. Her husband was there; and she writes: "You will be present at a grand spectacle; all that crowd of kings set in movement by one man, by the impulse of one single will." But, in the same letter, while hoping for great results from the Emperor Alexander's friendship and his admiration of Napoleon, she confesses how alarmed the intended journey to Spain makes her. "I am convinced," she says, "that all France ought to place itself between him and Spain." Her remarks about the preparations for the divorce are very French. There had been a violent scene, and the emperor had gone to Trianon, taking M. de Rémusat with him. His wife follows up the latter with a letter, and tells him she wept over the *Moniteur*. "All the speeches are fine, and make a good impression. People repeat to one another that the emperor wept! Such tears are pleasing to us women; the tears of men, and especially of kings, can scarcely fail to produce an effect, and you men are well aware of that."

Mad. de Rémusat found time for a good deal of varied reading.

There were no periodicals in those days; and she speaks of "having finished a history of France in nine volumes, of devouring La Grande Mademoiselle's Memoirs, of going through Montesquieu, and Pascal, and reading a life of Zwinglius, written by a Swiss, which seems to me a meritorious book. I have but one objection to it, it rather inclines me towards Protestantism. . . . Really the Protestants, at any rate just then, seem to have reason on their side." *Grimm's Letters* she characterises as rubbish.

After the divorce, Joséphine retired to Aix, in Savoy, and our authoress went with her. Her account of the journey, and of the alarm of her maid as they were driving up the unfinished Echelles Road, is very amusing. The discomforts with which they had to put up for want of furniture, &c., must have been trying. The ex-empress behaved with great tact: "She speaks of the emperor as she ought, and when she ought, and declines everything in the way of attention from the authorities of the neighbourhood. Her phrase is, 'repose takes the place of happiness.' Notwithstanding her resignation, sometimes, when sorrow oppresses her, she makes me a sign, and comes to give vent to it with me. . . . She speaks of the emperor as a brother, and of the new empress as the future mother of the children of France." Six months later, in January, 1811, she is again with Joséphine in Normandy, just about the time when the Duke Décazes said to Marmont: "We are lost, depend upon it; and the emperor is mad," and when Talleyrand and other far-seeing politicians were getting anxious. Winter in a Norman château passed pleasantly enough: "Here are seven women (she says) living together on the best of terms. Only one of us is really pretty—we allow her the pleasure of knowing it,—some of us are agreeable, and accordingly have the privilege of pleasing. We enjoy perfect liberty. The men of our party are polite and attentive; if they were not, we should not complain; but they are attentive because we are not exacting. . . . When I look around me, I am disposed to think the human species is composed of good people." At Aix la Chapelle she was staying in June, 1812, with her imbecile son Albert. Queen Hortense and the princes (Louis Napoleon one of them) were there; and the boys played together: one day Albert struck Prince Louis, "but the queen would not allow me to reprove him." By-and-by one of the princes has fever, and our authoress's reflection is: "Some people are born to misfortune, and she appears to be one of them." Her praise of Hortense is very unqualified: "I cannot tell you how charming I think her. Hers is really an angelic disposition, and she is quite a different creature from what she is generally supposed—so true, so pure-minded, so completely ignorant of evil." Aix la Chapelle was full of celebrities, among them Mad. de Solm, who must have tried her friend's patience, for, besides always carrying her album

about with her, she used to stand in the middle of the drawing-room and sing verses of her own composing. What strikes us is that the closing letters, in 1812-13, contain not a word about the horrible drama which was being acted in Russia. They are dated from Vichy, where Mad. de Rémusat goes to amateur theatricals—the men actors looking ridiculous, with shawls over their trousers. Here she reads Sévigné through for the first time, picks out choice bits of Massillon and La Bruyère, but says nothing of the retreat from Moscow.

From this the reader will see that the volume is rather valuable as throwing light on the social life of Napoleon's *entourage* than for what it adds to our knowledge of the history of the times.

Mr. Bingham's book is more than its title would lead us to infer. In two volumes he gives us, in ample detail and with full garniture of anecdotes, the marriages of the Napoleon family, and of the adopted children, "in arranging matches for whom the emperor spent all the time not devoted to war and politics." The book also contains a full account of the matrimonial projects of the future emperor during his earlier years. His rooted idea was to set himself up in life by a good marriage; and every marriage that he arranged for any of his relations had, as its sole object, the strengthening of the Bonaparte clan. On the same principle he kept a list of all the rich heiresses, and used every endeavour to get them as wives for his marshals and generals. The work is full of that sort of gossip which makes history. We subjoin a few extracts: "After Wagram Napoleon intended to offer Archduke Charles a handsome sword, but changed his mind on finding the Austrian general such a dolt." Very amusing is the emperor's impatience when Marie Louise was on her way to Paris. She travelled very slowly, being fêted at each village through which she passed; and every day they exchanged letters, Napoleon reading hers with transports of delight. At the marriage only fourteen cardinals were present, Gonsalvi and twelve others not thinking their presence compatible with their duty to the Pope. "Ah! the fools, the fools," hissed the emperor, when he remarked their absence. When he placed the ring on his wife's finger he asked Abbé du Pradt: "I have given my wife a ring, and she has not given me one; why is this?" and then added: "Because the woman is the slave of the man. Look at the Romans, their slaves always wore rings." He might have remarked that the woman's slavery was symbolised by the thirteen pieces of gold which the officiating priest handed to him, and which he passed on to the empress. This was an old Parisian custom, dating from the time when wives were bought by their husbands. Joséphine's extravagance in dress comes strongly out in Mr. Bingham's pages. With this she combined such tact that Napoleon wrote to her from Milan: "I could confide a state to your



care, and give you a vote in the council, but—I never could trust you with the key of the treasury.” She had thirty-eight bonnets in a month. The scene in which the emperor stormed and raved because he found Mdle. Despeaux, the milliner, with her, winding up by sending the poor woman to La Force, is very well told, and throws much light on the little great man’s character. The book concludes with some curious notes about the Duc de Morny and Count Léon, half-brother to Count Walewski. It is pleasant reading, and will be of considerable service to those who have not yet made up their minds about the character of the Napoleons and the sort of court which the first emperor had gathered round him.

#### HENSMAN’S AFFGHAN WAR.

*The Affghan War of 1879, &c.; Being a Complete Narrative of the Capture of Cabul, the Siege of Sherpur, the Battle of Ahmed Khel, the Brilliant March to Candahar, and the Defeat of Ayoub Khan, with the Operations on the Helmund, and the Settlement with Abdur Rahman Khan.* By Howard Hensman, Special Correspondent of the *Pioneer*, Allahabad, and the *Daily News*, London. With Maps. W. H. Allen and Co.

SIR F. ROBERTS, who is certainly well qualified to judge, says of Mr. Hensman’s letters, that “nothing could be more accurate or graphic. I thought your description of the fight at Charasia was one that any soldier might have been proud of writing; but your recent letters are, if possible, even better.” That this commendation is well deserved, few who have studied the subject sufficiently to be competent judges will deny. Mr. Hensman writes with the dash and brilliancy of the finished *littérateur*, and he has (what “our own correspondent” very seldom possesses) a thorough acquaintance with military matters, and an accuracy which from a military point of view leaves nothing to be desired. He begins with Sir Louis Cavagnari’s mission in July, 1879, followed so shortly by his death, and the outbreak of Yakub Khan’s ferocious soldiery, backed by the fanatical mob of Cabul. It is not our intention to give anything like a criticism of affairs, else we might express wonder at the honourable reception accorded to Yakub when he took refuge in our camp, and at the gentle way in which those who were constantly proclaiming that “an Affghan understands nothing but force,” dealt with the blood-stained city. The details of a campaign are always very painful reading; so much misery falls on the undeserving, while the guilty often escape scot-free. But in this case the record is instructive; it shows the folly of meddling at all with Afghanistan unless we are

prepared for very thorough measures; and when we read of Bahadur Khan's villages, for instance, looted and burned in mid-winter, and of "the great effect of this punishment on the whole district of Maidan," we have at least the satisfaction of feeling that these villagers were not peaceable husbandmen, but wild fanatics, nearly every male of whom was out in arms against "the unbelievers." Indeed, what strikes us at every turn, alike in Mr. Hensman's book, and in all others on the subject, is the "failure of all attempts to conciliate the people." The French find the Algerian Arabs hard to manage, almost insensible to the charms of settled government, ready to break out the moment there seems the slightest chance of making a successful outbreak; but the Afghan has the Arab's uncompromising hatred of the stranger intensified. It seems as if half measures were impossible with a people who have nothing to appeal to in the way of "prosperity and material progress, &c., secured by a settled government." They prefer their own wild way, and should be allowed to have it, unless we elect to bring a very difficult country into thorough subjection. The worst method of all is to keep the Afghans in such a state of worry that they will welcome as a friend the enemy whom so many of us believe to be rapidly advancing from the north.

Into political questions of this kind Mr. Hensman wholly abstains from entering; his book is a record of events, interspersed with graphic sketches of the people among whom our forces were moving. Thus of the Ghazis, fanatics whose desperate courage is no less remarkable than their abominable treachery, he says: "It is not given to every man to rise to such a pitch of religious exaltation, and fortunate for an 'infidel' army it is not. To see how thousands of Ghazis are always being spoken of, one would imagine they were a powerful clan like the Ghilzais or Afridis. . . . Out of a crowd of 50,000 armed fanatics such as lately held Cabul, not one in a hundred rises to the supreme rank of a Ghazi. The Ghazi here answers to the assassin in Western countries where enthusiasm in religious or political matters rouses him to shoot a priest at the altar, or stab a king in his palace." And then follows an eloquent description of the way in which the *moollah* in every village appeals to the passions and the fanaticism of their hearers. "He is for these ignorant peasants the link between this world and the next, vested with mysterious attributes, occasionally rising to miracle-working; and with quiet assurance he promises that if they attack the infidels in the proper spirit, and with full faith, bullets shall turn harmlessly aside, bayonets shall not pierce them, and their poshteens thrown over the cannon's mouth shall check shot and shell. The Ghazi is the creature of the *moollah*. The latter's eloquence is listened to by some more than usually susceptible

villager, whose enthusiasm is roused to fever heat by some glowing story of a Ghazi who went into the infidel camp, cut down two or three Kafirs, and died the death of a martyr, his soul going straight to the laps of the *houris*, and his name living for ever among his kindred. Shall he not emulate such a glorious example, so that his children and his children's children may hand down his name to all generations as a Ghazi Allah din (champion of the faith)? The *moollah's* preaching has had its effect, and a Ghazi is called into being. If a great *jihad* is being preached, that man will always be in the forefront of the battle, and will probably carry the standard of his clan, blessed by the *moollah* who has roused the clansmen. . . . With Ghazis in their midst to lead the timorous, and *moollahs* always at hand to fan their fanaticism, Mahomed Jan's rabble did wonders."

In February last Mr. Hensman had a pretty clear inkling of what was going to take place: "That Abdur Rahman may yet be Amir of Afghanistan is quite within the range of possibility. But for the fatal taint of Russian influence he would make a nominee whom we could trust, for his ability is beyond question. . . . His life has been a stormy one, even for an Affghan prince. Mahomed Afzul Khan, his father, eldest son of the Dost Mahomed, objected, on his father's death in 1863, to his claims being set aside in favour of his younger half-brother, Shere Ali." Placed by his father in charge of Takhtipul in Turkestan, he was at first beaten by Shere Ali, but eventually was able to gain a complete victory, and to set up his father in Shere Ali's room. Afzul, however, a confirmed drunkard, weak and incapable, died soon after, and Abdur was compelled to seek a following among the Turcomans, and eventually to take refuge in Russian territory. General Kauffmann gave him a pension of £5,000, but refused to help him in any attempt on Afghanistan. Mr. Hensman adds: "If we are not prepared to break up his army, and drive him back over the Oxus, we had better give him frankly a chance of stating his case. He might by judicious management—say the promise of a large annual subsidy—prove the best man we could place in power as successor of the incapable Yakub Khan."

Perhaps Mr. Hensman's most graphic pages are those which describe the battle of Ahmed Khel: "Our artillery began shelling the slopes preparatory to the infantry attack, when suddenly a commotion was observed in the most advanced lines of the opposing army; the *moollahs* could be seen haranguing the irregular host with frantic energy, the beating of the *tom-toms* was redoubled; and then, as if by magic, a wave of men, Ghazis of the most desperate type, poured down upon the plain, and rushed upon General Stewart's force. . . . The fanaticism of the 3,000 or 4,000 men who made this desperate charge has perhaps never been equalled; they had 400 to 600 yards to cover before

they could come to close quarters with our infantry, and yet they made nothing of the distance. They rushed forward in three lines. . . . On our left flank two squadrons of the 19th Bengal Lancers were still at the trot moving into position when the Ghazis rushed among them. Lancers are always at a disadvantage when infantry have broken their ranks, and the 19th were no exception to the rule. In an instant they were lost to sight in a cloud of dust and smoke; and in the confusion, perhaps owing to some misunderstood order, or to the men losing their heads, a troop charged to the right in rear of the infantry line, and came smashing into the 19th Punjab Native Infantry, in the rear of the General and his staff. All was confusion for a moment. . . . The Ghazis had continued their onward rush, and were engaged in hand-to-hand fighting with our infantry. Some penetrated to within twenty yards of the spot where the staff were watching the action; and so critical was the moment, that Sir Donald Stewart and his staff drew their swords, and prepared for self-defence. . . . But for the promptitude of Colonel Lyster, V.C., and his 3rd Ghoorkas, this rush might have had terrible results. The 59th, misunderstanding an order, retired instead of checking the advance, and committed the fatal error of gathering into groups. Happily the 2nd Sikhs stood splendidly firm, rolling back the attack, and the main body of the Affghans standing aloof, the Ghazis could not hope to break our line." The whole account is admirably written, and the narrative of the disaster at Maiwand is equally good.

But we have amply shown that Mr. Hensman's book is well worth reading. Not one of his 550 small print pages could be spared, and the book must take rank as a standard work on a subject of vital importance to our empire and our *prestige*. We may remark that Mr. Hensman was the only newspaper correspondent with the army that moved out of Ali Kheyl in September, 1879. The Indian Government had notified that "non-combatant correspondents" would not be allowed to join the force, the task of writing being left to regimental officers; but so carelessly was this order given, that Sir F. Roberts never received official information of its existence, and gave Mr. Hensman a hearty welcome at Ali Kheyl. Into the questions raised by Mr. F. Harrison in the *Fortnightly*, respecting Sir F. Roberts's punishment of Cabul, it is not our place to enter; we only note that Mr. Harrison praises Mr. Hensman's letters as being "admirably written, with very great precision and knowledge."

To one of Mr. Hensman's remarks we must, however, strongly object. He says: "The shining light of a missionary meeting at home described 'Zenana missions' as missions sent to *Zenana*, a district of northern India, fruitful and densely peopled, but with its wretched inhabitants steeped in heathen ignorance." Such a

story, which carries with it its own refutation, is wholly unworthy in one who deserves Sir F. Roberts's praise.

#### ADAMSON'S FICHTE.

*Blackwood's Philosophical Classics.* "Fichte." By Robert Adamson, M.A., Professor of Logic in the Owen's College, Victoria University, Manchester. Blackwood & Sons.

THIS was just the proper volume to follow *Berkeley*, for Fichte completed the idealist system which the Irish bishop began. Mr. Adamson takes the view very generally taken in Germany that the man Fichte is of more account than his philosophy—that it is as a patriot and a stirrer up of patriotism in others that he has the strongest claim on the gratitude of mankind. The speakers at the Fichte centenary in 1862 certainly held that the subtle metaphysician of the "*Wissenschaftslehre*" is overshadowed by the patriotic orator of the *Addresses to the German Nation*. This is quite contrary to the ordinary English view, which looks on Fichte as the typical German metaphysician, wrapt in so thick a haze that his identity is well-nigh lost—"the great Ego," as he was called; and to hear him spoken of as a man of action rather than a reasoner is startling. We can all, however, follow Mr. Adamson in tracing the close connection between the spirit of Kant and Fichte, and German speculative philosophy in general and the new political idea of the French Revolution. Kant's principle was that the individual consciousness is the ultimate test of truth; that the individual, the ultimate unit, is not a mere atom, devoid of intrinsic characteristics, receiving all knowledge from without, and impelled to act solely by the natural relations between his individual impulses and things. This was a doctrine terribly liable to misuse; and misused it was in books like *Wilhelm Lovell*, and Schlegel's *Lucinde*. Fichte advanced beyond Kant; he forms in fact the link between him and the further elaboration of the Kantian system in Hegel. At the same time he went back to the idealism of Spinoza; "Spinoza in terms of Kant" is indeed the formula in which Mr. Adamson sums him up. His relation to those two, and to Leibnitz and Berkeley, is clearly traced in this little volume. Indeed the whole Fichtean system is sketched as lucidly as a system which treats of the "Ego" as both subject and object, as both abstract unity and concrete fulness, can be treated. The difficulty in dealing with such Protean forms of language is not to talk, but to know if we are using words in the sense in which our author uses them. Here is a brief sample of Fichte. "Take the purely formal proposition, A is A. It may be thus expressed: A is for the Ego simply and solely by virtue of being affirmed or posited in the Ego; and the *nexus* or bond, the ground of this

identity, is the affirmative of the existence of the Ego, *I am*. Only in and for a consciousness that is aware of its own identity can the law  $A = A$  have validity. The unity and identity of self-consciousness thus lies at the basis of all empirical consciousness, for all empirical consciousness falls under the rule  $A = A$ . But if the proposition  $A = A$ , valid for all empirical consciousness, has validity only because it is grounded on the fact of the identity of self-consciousness  $Ego = Ego$ , this identity must be the pure act of the Ego itself, the mere expression or product of the activity by which the Ego is the Ego at all. Self-affirmation, then, is given simply, unconditionally, as the being of the Ego. The Ego is because it posits itself as being; it posits itself as being, because it is. The fundamental activity of all consciousness is thus the affirmation of itself by the Ego. The Ego posits originally and simply its own being."

To outsiders this would seem a case of darkening wisdom by words without knowledge; nor is the following much clearer: "The procedure of Wissenschaftslehre is as follows; it requires each one to note what he necessarily does when he calls himself I. It assumes that every one who really performs this required act will find that he *affirms himself*, or (which may be clearer to many) that *he is at the same time subject and object*. In this absolute identity of subject and object consists the very nature of the Ego. The Ego is that which cannot be subject without being in the same indivisible act object, and *vice versa*; and conversely whatever has this characteristic is Ego; the two expressions are the same." The Ego, by the way, is not to be identified with the individual or person. Such individual has the consciousness of self, without which he exists not at all; but to be individual or person, more is required than is contained in self-consciousness. Thus Fichte does not deny self-consciousness to God, whom, however, he will not admit to be personal or individual. "Self-consciousness is not a thing or fact to be observed; just as little is God one among the objects of experience, to be thought of as coexisting with finite spirits, conditioning or determining them, and in turn conditioned or determined by them. There is and can be, from the position of pure thought, no God except the ideal system which is involved in self-consciousness, and in which finite spirits have a definite place and function." Of the second Fichtean proposition, Not A does not  $= A$ , and how it is not equivalent to the judgment Not A  $=$  Not A, we have not space to speak.

But we must note how practical these symbols become in Fichte's hands. His "Ego" was something that those who had dealings with him found they must reckon with. Thus when the Senate of the new Berlin University, of which he was rector, protested against some of his edicts, he clenched the matter by



saying, "It's not I that insist on this being done, but the Ego that speaks and acts in me." No wonder such a man was often in hot water with his colleagues. At Jena he was supposed to be a revolutionist, a supposition to which his strange choice of Sunday morning for giving his lectures gave colour. He got involved in a serious dispute with the students respecting the suppression of their "Societies," and finally he was dismissed from his office by the Saxe-Weimar Government. Goethe got on well with him, but with Kant he quarrelled; for the author of the *Critik* resented the notion that his "work was merely an introduction to a system of reasoned philosophy." It is to Fichte's credit that he was not on good terms with several of the Berlin *savants*, after he had migrated to that city from Jena; for morality was very low at Berlin, and Frederic Schlegel set a very bad example by living with Dorothea Veit, and Schleiermacher was by no means the saint which his theological writings would lead us to imagine. Fichte's rigid morality was outraged by this state of things; and the *savants* repaid his lack of allowance for their irregularities by making fun of his system.

Professor Adamson traces Fichte's singular incapacity for appreciating experience, his constant habit of "constructing from within," whether in ethics, psychology, or politics, to his one-sided education at the famous foundation school of Pforta, near Nuremberg. This school was still regulated on the old monastic plan, the pupils secluded from the outer world, each elder having a junior entrusted to him over whom he exercised almost unlimited control. Here he wholly missed the family life, with its manifold interests and duties and sympathy and co-operation, which would have been so valuable to him. The record of his early life is singularly interesting: the family was half-Swedish, a wounded sergeant of Gustavus Adolphus's army, having staid behind at Rammenau in Saxon Lusatia, and married there. It was Fichte's strong memory to which he owed the first step in his advancement. Baron von Miltitz, coming to see the squire of Rammenau one Sunday, arrived too late for sermon. "I'm sorry to have missed it," he said. "Oh, there's a little boy can tell you every word of it." So young Fichte was sent for, and so delighted the baron that he at once undertook to have him educated. His death in 1814 was due to the patriotic zeal that he had inspired. His wife had worked hard in the hospitals, then full of wounded, all through the winter of 1813. Early the next year she was seized with nervous fever; her husband nursed her all day, delivering his lectures during the evenings. She recovered; but he caught the disease and died of it.

Mr. Adamson's book will make him known to many as a worthy successor to Dr. Jevons in the office of Professor of Logic at the new Victoria University.

## BELJAME'S LE PUBLIC EN ANGLETERRE.

*Le Public et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre au Dix-huitième Siècle.* "Dryden," "Addison," "Pope." Par Alexandre Beljame, Docteur-ès-Lettres, Professeur à l'Ecole Libre des Sciences, Politiques, &c. Paris : Hachette.

M. BELJAME'S work is one of very remarkable research. A pupil of M. Mézières, of the Academy, the well-known professor of foreign literature at the Paris Faculty of Letters, he has aimed at being as thorough as his master; and his researches in the British Museum have given him as complete an insight into the Restoration literature and that of Queen Anne's day as the most laborious English student ever possessed. Taking the century following 1660, he has set himself to answer the questions: How and by what stages was the English reading public formed? Does it owe its formation most to men or to events? and what reflex influence has its formation exercised on the writers themselves? At the Restoration, public, in our sense of the word, there was none. The first thing to be done when you had a play, or poem, or pamphlet (and little else was written), was to get a patron for it, unless you were one of the noble authors who condescended to take pen in hand, and sometimes, as a favour, put their names to other people's plays. "The critics," wrote Shadwell to the Duke of Newcastle, "won't dare to maltreat a piece when they see your grace's name on the first page." Far the most important literary career was that of playwright: many noblemen besides the Duke of Newcastle—Buckingham, for instance, Orrery, Sedley, Killigrew—wrote plays; others, like the Earl of Mulgrave, who recast *Julius Cæsar*, contented themselves with adapting older English or else foreign dramas. The audience was sure to deal tenderly with a noble author, for it was composed nearly altogether of the Court and its hangers-on; the City, in which there was a strong Puritan leaven, almost wholly kept aloof from the theatre. The sameness in the audience made anything like a long run impossible; even the most popular pieces only ran a few nights. And such an audience went to amuse itself in its own way; if the piece was not strong enough to hold their attention, they talked loudly, snored, and played cards in the boxes. Hence the provision for them was of the lightest; stealing from the French was already a recognised way of supplying the English stage, Ravenscroft, for instance, got no less than three plays out of *M. de Pourceaugnac*. Meanwhile the position of a non-noble author was very humiliating. He was quite at the mercy of a caste which treated him with disdain.

Dryden, as M. Beljame puts him before us from contemporary records, is very different from the honest, independent John of

some English biographies. He was servile, willing to acquiesce in the coarse fun in which his patrons indulged at his expense—as when Buckingham made one of the characters in *The Repetition* a personal caricature of Dryden, and actually gave the actor Lacey lessons in Dryden's look, and voice, and gestures. Dryden was nicknamed "Bayes," the character in question, to the end of his life. To show the change of feeling which a century brought about, and the greater independence that it had secured to literary men, M. Beljame quotes the old story about Dr. Johnson giving notice that he was going to buy a specially thick oak stick when he heard that Foote was about to represent him on the stage. Dryden, throughout, is no favourite with M. Beljame; of his marriage he speaks most slightly, quoting the wretched scandals of the day as to the relations of Lady Elizabeth Howard and Lord Chesterfield. He makes the very natural mistake of believing all he reads; and the amount of evil the Restoration writers said of one another, and the baseness of motive and conduct with which every one at that time was credited, passes all conception. It was a bad time—a time to which no Englishman can look back with satisfaction; but we need not, bad as it was, accept literally all the filth that a painstaking searcher is sure to find in its annals. M. Beljame would not like us to take the worst French novels as a true picture of the life of his countrymen and countrywomen in this last quarter of the nineteenth century. Unquestionably, however, the change from Charles the Second's time to Queen Anne's was great. There had come to be something like a public, though dedications were still in vogue, and great men's influence was still what an author chiefly looked to. Addison himself was a mighty power for good. M. Beljame's enthusiasm for the *Spectator* is quite delightful; that any cultured Englishman should not have read every word in its 555 numbers, and should not have read the whole consecutively, he cannot imagine. The effect of this publication, he thinks, can scarcely be overrated. Addison, having got hold of the public, determined to give a dead lift to public opinion. He felt, as keenly as Collier and the Puritans, the evils of society as it was; but, wiser than they, he sought to purify wit and fun instead of to suppress them. Above all, he is careful not to make morality a party thing; he never speaks of Court and City, of Cavaliers and Puritans, never dreams of setting up for each a different standard. Moreover, he never preaches; he is content to point out what is good, and to try to make men love it. "A man of the world, polished without foppery, serious without harshness, learned without pedantry, loving and tasting the pleasures of wit; an earnest Christian, to boot; but neither bigoted nor intolerant, showing his religion mainly in deeds of charity." That is how our author sketches the man; and his style and manner are characterised as "always interesting, full of

wit, often full of the loftiest morality, but never dogmatic. He steers clear of long monotonous enlargement on the same theme, for in his eye it is bad taste and bad policy to weary his hearers. He hates exaggeration, and never uses grand phrases. He is much freer with his praise than his blame; and if he is forced to blame, he does not permit himself to use words that would wound; his tact and his religion alike shrink from anything of that kind. He marks his blame by one calm, grave word, or oftener still by an ironical tone, a look, or a curl of the lip. One cannot read him without being bettered as well as instructed; yet he never means to be giving a set lesson."

M. Beljame delights to gather the evidence of Addison's high position among his contemporaries. Thus Swift writes to Stella: "Addison's election went off without a contest. I believe that if the fancy took him to be king, folks could hardly meet him with a refusal." And he was not only esteemed, he was loved. Steele (says Pope) carried his friendship to actual veneration. One great aim of the *Spectator* is to show the ugliness of the "man of wit and pleasure" whom the evil traditions of the Restoration still set up as an ideal. Thanks to Addison it was no longer necessary for one who set up for being a man of mind to make a parade of his vices. Addison's modesty did not prevent him from recognising the good he had done: he says (in the *Freeholder*), "they (the *Tatler* and *Spectator*) diverted Raillery from improper objects, and gave a new Turn to Ridicule which for many years had been exerted on Persons and Things of a vicious Nature, &c." "He set the laughers on the side of Virtue, and also set Virtue on the side of moderation and good sense."

But, great as is the work he attributes to the Essayists, and to Addison above all, in raising the tone of society, and forming a public with an opinion powerful enough to act as a restraining power on authors, he thinks that Pope did even more than they in this direction. They were all hampered by their official position; indeed, to his latest State employment we owe the loss of some of Addison's works which we can well afford to lose. Pope was a man of the people, a member, moreover, of a despised sect. Yet he raised himself by sheer force of character, and by preserving his self-respect, to a position which surpassed all Dryden's dreams. "It is amusing and instructive (says our author) to find Mulgrave, now Duke of Buckinghamshire" (M. Beljame is always very un-French in his exactness as to names and titles), "bowing humbly before Pope, after having had at his feet so many poets, Dryden included." Johnson's independence he traces in part to the influence of Pope. "The sciences (says Johnson in the *Rambler*), after a thousand indignities, retired from the palace of patronage; and having long wandered over the world in sorrow and distress, were at last led to the cottage of independence, daughter of

strength of mind, where prudence and parsimony taught them to support themselves in quiet and dignity." Goldsmith, again, when Lord Northumberland, appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, offered to do something for him, made the notable answer: "I do not count at all on the promises of the great. It's to the booksellers that I look for a livelihood. They are my best friends, and I'm not disposed to abandon them for others." This language also, which would have been incomprehensible to a contemporary of Dryden, M. Beljame thinks due to the same influence. "It was Pope (he says) who installed the profession of literature in the rank which it still holds. By dint of keeping within his sphere, determining to be a man of letters and to be nothing else, this misshapen little Roman Catholic son of a city linen merchant had become the equal of the great." M. Beljame closes his work by pointing out that, except Mr. Dilke (grandfather of the present baronet), in *Papers of a Critic*, no English writer has done Pope justice. All the charges against him have been believed, sometimes on the slightest evidence; and no "extenuating circumstances" have ever been admitted. He shows that to form a true estimate of Pope we must compare him with his predecessors, and see how he surpasses them in that independence which is now so universal that it is hard to form a notion of the time when it had no existence. Johnson carps at Pope for talking of his noble friends; to which Mr. Dilke replies: "So far from seeking the friendship of lords, it was the lords, and the best of that day, who sought his friendship. And he could not be expected to refuse the worship which was lavished on him because those who offered it were people of high rank."

It is very interesting to follow M. Beljame in his literary history of the century which saw our prose and verse both take their modern shape. One compares him with M. Taine, not certainly to his discredit; his views are as clear and correct as those of the more voluminous writer, and his thoroughness is an instance of how little Frenchmen deserve the title of superficial. When they take pains, they may be trusted to go into a subject with even more than Teutonic industry, while at the same time their industrious research does not injure their style, or confuse the order of their thoughts.

#### BESANT AND RICE'S WHITTINGTON.

*The New Plutarch: Sir Richard Whittington, Lord Mayor of London.* By Walter Besant and James Rice. Marcus Ward and Co., Belfast and London.

OF all the many series the *New Plutarch* is, on the whole, the most successful. In "Foreign Classics" we sometimes have an exceptionally good volume, such as Mrs. Thackeray Ritchie's *Mad*.

*de Sévigné*; but of Messrs. Ward's series all that have yet appeared have been thoroughly well done, and written in a style which is sure to interest readers of all classes. The subjects have been interesting; and the writers have, in every case, gone into their work *con amore*. Where all are good, it is invidious to draw comparisons; but not even to Mr. Besant's *Coligny* (with which the series began) nor to Miss Tucker's *Joan of Arc*, which was characterised as "the best book in our language concerning the noblest woman of the Middle Ages," nor to Professor Palmer's *Haroun Alraschid*, which was full of learning, while it was as delightful as a novel, does the *Life of Whittington* yield in interest. The critical examination of the Whittington legend, on the lines planned by Dr. Lysons, is made the ground for a graphic picture of mediæval London life, with its guilds, its pageants, its sports, and for a continuous contrast between the city as it is, where there are still the old names but little else, and the city as it was. The thing has been done before, but never so well as Mr. Besant has now done it, with the help of Mr. Rice's notes; and Londoners especially owe him a deep debt of gratitude. In a city from which even the comparative antiquity of Wren's day is being so ruthlessly wiped out, it is well to be reminded of such facts as that the narrow lane, still called Tower Royal, owes its name to the great royal hostel where Richard the Second's mother remained during the Wat Tyler rebellion, and where, in 1386, "the king received Lion, king of Armonie, chased out of his realm by the Tartarians," that College Street marks the site of Whittington's College, that Mercer's Hall still has its entrance in "Chepe," and that Dowgate, Queenhithe, Walbrook, and Baynard's Castle (still to be read on a corner below Blackfriars) are names which carry us right back to the fourteenth century and earlier. Mr. Besant is not content with a picture of London as it was; he tries to answer such questions as these: "Who were Whittington's friends? What was his trade? What his religious views?" Thus giving us the man, as much as may be, not only in his public but in his private capacity. He begins with an instructive chapter on the city charters—very timely, for Whittington's lot fell in troublous days. Under Richard II., at any rate, "it was a dangerous thing to hold a city office; justice, with respect to charters, there was none; no trust could be put in the king or his advisers; many of the richest citizens, perhaps Whittington among them, were forced to sign and seal blank "charts to be afterwards filled up by the king's ministers." The city authorities had to keep careful and ceaseless watch against encroachments on their privileges. Of these privileges the most important date from Henry I. These the citizens lost, owing to their adherence to Stephen; but they were recovered, and increased under Henry II. In Henry the Third's long reign the city fared badly, a tax of a fif-



teenth being, on one occasion, levied on everybody's "whole possessions." In fact, "London was Henry's treasury, from which he thought he could draw at will, provided only that enough was left to carry on the gold-producing machine." In 1248, the Council at Westminster refused to grant him money, and advised him to sell his plate—"the city would buy it." "If the treasure of Augustus were to be sold," cried the king, "these Londoners would buy it;" and he set up a fortnight's fair in Westminster, in the depth of winter, during which trade of every kind was to cease in London! "The statecraft of the king's advisers was shown in rightly judging the time at which the city would allow or would resent demands for money; and, year by year, in spite of these, the town grew stronger, richer, more self-reliant, yet more necessary to the crown." Strong as it was in trade matters, this London was sadly weak in sanitary arrangements; the "halpases" built out over the narrow streets excluded wind and sunlight, scavengers were unknown, everybody threw his refuse where he pleased, and the air was full of noisome stench. The death rate was high; "the London citizen sat ever in fear of plague. Death was always before his eyes." The religion, the wills, the social tone, all bore witness to an uncertainty which "the dance of death" kept ever present to the sight.

But the great point of Mr. Besant's book is, of course, his having restored to us the real Whittington—not a nameless little outcast, but a young man of good family (at least as good as that of Fitzwarren, to whom he was apprenticed) from Pauntley, in Gloucestershire, where the Whittington arms are still to be seen in the old stained glass. His mother was a Mansel, of a knightly house in Devon. "He came of a good old stock, and was neither a country clown, nor a gutter-born town lad." This part of the legend, then, Mr. Besant, relying on Dr. Lyson's authority, rejects altogether. He thinks it was a common thing for young persons who had no fancy for the roystering life of a "henxman," or "bele baby" in a great house, and who did not care for the Law, and saw no chance of advancement in the Church, to get apprenticed "to some honourable trade or mystery in a great city." We should like some proof of this; Mr. Besant's style is so taking that at first we forget to ask for evidence; on this point he gives none, and all we can say is, that, seeing he is correct where (as in matters of history and pictures of social life) we can verify him, we may safely assume him to have solid ground which, nevertheless, we wish he had pointed out, for the statement that, "when we read of noble families descended from city worthies, it is well to remember that most likely their very founders were themselves of gentle descent." The lads, therefore, who, entering London with a halfpenny in their pocket, rose to civic dignity and to great wealth, belong, according to him, to a

later age. The Church was then, he would have us believe, almost the only field for low-bred merit; but it is surely unfair to cite the well-known words of *Piers Plowman*: "Every cobbler's son is becoming a clerk first and then a bishop, and great lords have to bow down before him," as showing that, "in proportion as the sons of peasants thronged into it the better classes kept aloof."

But, if we give up the churlish cook, and the running away till the bells, with their prophetic chime, recalled the poor scullion lad, what are we to say about the cat? That can't be given up, because, like the bag of oatmeal over a London bank, it was carved in stone on the gate of Newgate, is traced to the Whittingtons' house in Gloucester, and may be still seen in the Guildhall Museum. Mr. Besant has a modified belief in the cat; it was his hero's first venture, and he sent it, hearing from the sailors cats fetched a good price among the Moors. The monstrous price is, of course, legendary—of a piece with the tears: "as if a boy with the stuff of a great merchant in him was a puling sneak, not able to give taunt for taunt, and blow for blow;"—but it is said that one Alphonso, a Portuguese, wrecked on the Guinea coast, was presented by the king with his weight in gold for a cat. A like story is told by a Persian historian as early as 1219. It is found also in Danish tales; indeed, it has as many forms as the William Tell legend; while, to come to historic certainties, the first cat ever taken to South America was bought by one of Pizarro's companions for 600 pieces of eight.

Perhaps the most interesting of all Mr. Besant's chapters is that on Whittington's public life. There is no reason for believing that his rise was unusually rapid. He may have been helped out of the chest, locked with three locks, and containing 1,000 marks, which, in 1371, John Barnes had left for loans to young men beginning trade who could find good security. Mr. Besant wonders what became of this chest, which proves that rich merchants were willing to help their poorer brethren, and that good men were disgusted at the usurious rate which money-lenders exacted. It is strange that as late as 1375, four aldermen, with a body of men-at-arms, had to be night and day on board the outer ships in the Thames to guard against foreign perils; and Billingsgate and the other river gates were strictly guarded for fear of French deceptions:

"Per noctem portæ clauduntur Londiniarum,  
Mœnia ne forte fraus frangat Francigenarum."

But we have already devoted more space to *Whittington* than most books of that class could claim. It is an exceptionally good number of a very promising series. One point deserves notice: John Carpenter, whose educational bequest was, under Lord Brougham's Charity Commission, made available for building

and endowing the flourishing City of London School, was one of Whittington's executors.

### BOSE'S HINDOOS AS THEY ARE.

*The Hindoos as they Are; a Description of the Manners, Customs, and Inner Life of Hindoo Society in Bengal.* By Shib Chunder Bose. With Prefatory Note by Rev. W. Hastie, B.D., Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta. Newman: Calcutta. Stanford: London.

BABOO SHIB CHUNDER BOSE was one of Dr. Duff's earliest pupils, and his book is due to Dr. Duff's suggestion. It was also cordially approved of by Sir Theophilus (afterwards Lord) Metcalf; and the writer's varied experience, his large store of reading, his earnestness, and his rare sobriety of judgment, eminently fit him for the task of setting before an English reader that life so much of which is almost unknown even to those who have long been resident in India. For the accuracy of the very curious details Mr. Hastie vouches; he took occasion, he says, to verify the descriptions by reference to other educated natives. Those, therefore, who are helping on the good work of religious regeneration in India, may accept these sketches as trustworthy guides how best to shape their efforts. Baboo Bose begins with the Hindoo household, and describes the life of one of its inmates from the cradle to the grave, winding up with the account of his aunt's suttee, at which he was present when a very young boy, and with "the admired story of Sabitri Brata," a Hindoo parallel to the tale of Alcestis, which is still yearly repeated by Hindoo wives as a charm to avert the evil of widowhood. Of the household he says, "the notions of the female members are as crude and irrational as they are absurd and childish." Their highest mental effort is reading the Mahabharat or the Ramayan; they seldom leave the house, yet their supply of gossip is inexhaustible, and their familiar conversation coarse in the extreme. A few advanced Hindoos, especially among the Brahmos, are striving hard to ameliorate the condition of their wives and daughters; but Baboo Bose thinks this sweeping change is yet very far indeed from general acceptance. "The moral tone of native society must be immensely raised; its manners and customs entirely remodelled, before such a consummation can be looked for." Yet he admits that there are a good many families which engage a Christian governess, and that "the spirit of the age" countenances one great innovation, the study by girls of the Bengalee primer. Let us trust that his view of things is not hopeful enough, and that more is being done in this direction than he is willing to believe. Despite her total want of education, the Hindoo mother is a model of economy,

self-denial, patience, and chastity. When her sons are at their meal, she sits by, not to share the food, but to watch that each one has enough and enjoys what is set before him. That any one should complain of any dish as unsavoury, she would deem the severest of reproaches. Such deference makes the men selfish; "a big native swell is a consummate epicure, immersed in a ceaseless round of pleasures, and surrounded by a body of servile flatterers, and greatly incapacitated for the duties of active life by frequent shampooings." Baboo Bose is not in favour of the large joint households so common in Hindostan. Men are not angels, he says, and seven brothers living together with all their belongings cannot live in perfect harmony. "Union is strength, but not unless it is harmonious. Otherwise segregation, after the fashion of the dominant race, is to be preferred."

In the native school the boy soon, unhappily, learns to deceive his parents. His getting a holiday is dependent on his bringing a present to the master; and he therefore often steals *pice* out of his mother's box. The punishments are quaint; early attendance, for instance, is encouraged by the device of making the boy who comes late stand on one leg. In the girl's education the most noteworthy point is the taking of *bratas* (vows) to be fulfilled if good luck ensues. As may be supposed, many of these are for a good husband. Our author gives examples, the purity of which is remarkable, considering what he well calls "the unhealthy and unnatural influence of polygamy on the female character." Naturally polygamy is hateful to the Hindoo women: at the end of one of the *bratas* is given the list of curses invoked on the *sateen* or second wife. The wife has a great deal of power in the household; her position justifies the joke of Keshub Chunder Sen, the reformer, that "man is the noun in the objective case, governed by the active verb woman." English people are often struck with the amount of jewellery worn by quite poor Hindoo women. The custom is upheld by Menu, who says, "when a wife is gaily adorned, the whole household is embellished." Mr. Bose follows the young Hindoo all through life; through the "son-in-law" festival, when all the ladies combine to play off practical jokes on him who is soon to be a member of the family, putting before him tarts stuffed with pepper or sand, cakes carved in soft stone, and such-like childish surprises; through the Doorga Pooja, which in Maurice's *History of India* is described as solemn and delightful, suggesting holy thoughts, but which Mr. Bose tells us is so bad that one is glad the Governor-General and other dignitaries no longer countenance it with their presence; through the cruel Kali feast, and the obscene Hooli. He goes right on to the end of life, giving a sad picture of the suttee above referred to. One can scarcely believe that the custom of carrying the dying to the brink of the Ganges is still kept

up in circles which claim to be educated and enlightened. This is the more remarkable when we read about the decay of caste in Calcutta; thus even a purist such as Baboo Ramdoolah Dey, who would not take a contract for cow-hides, used to say publicly, "Caste is in my iron chest," meaning that money would set right any breaches in conventional usage.

The picture of the modern Baboo, who has almost given up his own language, and discusses with his friend the latest article in the *Fortnightly* in high-flown English, is amusingly drawn. Mr. Bose notes the want in that education which has made him so unlike his fathers; the old sanctions, such as they were, are gone, and no others have been supplied. Patriotism, a sense of honour, unselfishness, not to speak of religious feeling, are sadly wanting in this choice "product of secular education." Almost ridiculous is the way in which even rich Bengalees struggle for some petty Government appointment: "they are a nation of writers" (Keranees). The strange thing is that while laxness on so many points is the order of the day, in sanitary matters "old custom" still rules. We spoke of the carrying to the Ganges; the ill-managed, hasty imperfect cremation which follows is certainly not a sanitary process. Moreover, the native population as a whole refuses to drink the municipal water laid on in pipes, because grease is used about the hydraulic machines, and because Mahometans and Christians are employed in working them.

"Perish caste, with all its monotonous evils," is a wish to which all Mr. Bose's readers will heartily say "Amen." Whether the far greater evils of Koolinism—encouraging polygamy of the worst kind, mere girls being married to a Koolin Brahmin for the sake of the sanctity supposed to be thereby brought into the family—ought not to be put down by law, we think is more than doubtful. A Mormon is a respectable member of society compared with a Koolin Brahmin, and the multiplication of girl-widows is an immense evil to the community; for, of course, they often fall into vice, seeing that the "ingenious malice of custom" does not even allow them to help in good works "for fear of pollution."

Mr. Bose's book is very interesting throughout. We may be sorry that he does not tell us what Bengalees think of the English raj; that, according to the old complaint, he shows us neither his own inner mind nor that of his countrymen. On some points we think him wrong; for instance, when he says that ages will be needed to break down the barriers of female seclusion. But, on the whole, he throws much light on the subject which he took in hand, and to which he distinctly limits himself in his preface. He did not undertake to prophesy what will take the place of the secular civilisation which is passing away; he does not tell us distinctly enough what he would like to see in its

room; but of things as they are he gives us such a picture as only a native could draw.

#### OTTE'S DENMARK AND ICELAND.

*Foreign Countries and British Colonies: Denmark and Iceland.*

By E. C. Otté. With Illustrations. Sampson Low and Co.

MR. OTTE'S book is one of the best of a good series. He begins by noting that 1880 is the thousandth anniversary of the Danish monarchy, from its foundation under Gorm the Old. Even so long ago Sleswig, or South Jutland, was a debateable land between Dane and German; and, while Gorm was engaged in "viking" (i.e., piracy), his wife Thyra, surnamed Dannebrod (Dane's Pride), threw up the rampart of the Dannerike to stop the incursions of the Franks. Denmark was greatest in the thirteenth century, when, under the Valdemars, who conquered the Wends to the east and the Frisians (Ditmashers) to the west, the Baltic became a Danish lake. Margaret, the last of the Valdemars, hoped by the treaty of Calmar (1397) to bind the three Scandinavian kingdoms into one; but her hope was a vain one, and from her death Denmark declined. It sunk very low under Frederick III. (1648-70), from whom Charles Gustavus wrested all the "East Sound" provinces, thus depriving Denmark of her chief political influence.

All that is now left of the heritage of the Valdemars is the sand-swept peninsula of Jutland, and the islands, almost equally sand-swept, on their western shores. The vegetation has undergone several changes in comparatively recent times. Beech is now the chief tree; in the bogs is found a stratum of oak trunks, and under that pines and firs, which, by the way, are again being planted for winter shelter. Mr. Otté gives a lively description of the scenery of the different islands—some of it very like parts of East Anglia; he also gives a summary of Danish history. But the most generally interesting part of his book is his sketch of the Danish and Icelandic languages and literatures. If the book reaches a second edition, we should recommend these being thrown together and rewritten, so as to show the contrasts and resemblances between the two. Few English people noted the remarkable work of the Stockholm Congress of 1869, in recasting, in the mould shaped forty years before by Rask, the common language of the three nations. Dano-Norwegian (the two kingdoms were united till 1814) had been rapidly falling into what our author, with his foreign fondness for grand words, calls "a condition of orthographic anarchy;" the aim has been to revert, wherever it was possible, to the old mother-tongue. In discussing the "old northern"—the classical form of Norse speech—Mr.



Otté tells us that "runes were but adaptations of an old Greek alphabet fitted in form for carving on wood." Of course he has plenty to say about Holberg, to whom Denmark owes not only her national theatre, but the very existence of a modern national literature. From the first appearance of his *Political Pewterer*, in 1722, to the present day, his plays have kept the stage; and the blow which he gave to the taste for stilted adaptations from the French was seconded by Wessel in his mock-tragedy *Love Without Stockings*.

In describing Copenhagen Mr. Otté does not fail to tell us how the splendid Vor Frue Kirke (Our Lady's Church) was completely destroyed in the bombardment of 1807; he also notes that the art treasures, some of them priceless, which are such a feature in the National Museum (the Rosenborg), "afford a striking proof of the incongruity existing, under the autocratic rulers of Denmark, between the wealth and lavish expenditure of the kings and the general poverty of the nation; for during the two centuries in which these costly objects were procured, the Danish people were ground down by taxation, and the State was nearly bankrupt." It was Frederick III. who, with the help of the burghers and clergy, abrogated the elective and other privileges of the nobles, and established the hereditary despotism which lasted till the beginning of freedom in 1831. Quite lately, Denmark has become one of the freest countries in Europe, and its land law is at least as favourable to the tenant as that now on its trial in Ireland. Nobility, however, still has its privileges and distinctions; for instance, there are several lay-convents, like Gisselsfeld, which are strictly confined to the two highest grades of noble ladies. Of Danish antiquities, such as the cathedral of its old capital, Roskilde, Mr. Otté gives a very good account. Alborg, at the north end of Jutland, with the remains of seven famous churches, and Vejle, where the Jutland diets used to be held, and where the yew and holly grow wild, are more interesting than Roskilde. Iceland, we are told, is now at last satisfied by the concession in 1874 of a very full measure of home rule; yet somehow, since this date, emigration has been going on at an increasing rate. Mr. Otté regrets the export of ponies, which he thinks is excessive; and remarks that the sulphur mines cannot pay on account of their inaccessibility. These, and the lignite beds (underlying the trap, and consisting of tulip-tree, oak, and various kinds of conifers), and indeed every Icelandic production, suffer from the total want of enterprise, which, along with lack of energy, have replaced the old sea-kings' feverish activity. Of Icelandic society Mr. Otté says: "It finds no parallel in any other country, for here rigid republican simplicity is combined with conservative pride of descent, great self-respect with perfect equality, and a complete absence of distinction of rank and class with a constant

observance of certain conventional forms of deference." He believes that it only needs "a slight modification of the strongly conservative spirit by which the Icelanders are actuated to remove the few obstacles that have hitherto stood in the way of their social improvement, and to raise them to the rank of the most highly civilised nations in Europe." Iceland has certainly not thriven in modern times; the climate seems to have got worse (though Mr. Otté does not note this); the eighteenth century, with its frequent volcanic action, was so destructive that Denmark at one time seriously thought of abandoning the island and removing the population. In one year, we are told, half the sheep, and 18,000 out of the 50,000 inhabitants perished of hunger. It is remarkable that the Icelanders, while always devoted to literature, have never paid much attention to the natural science to which the features of their country would seem to invite them. They are now driven to translate books like Roscoe's *Chemistry*, and Geikie's *Geology*!

#### HUGHES'S AMONG THE SONS OF HAM.

*Among the Sons of Ham: Notes of a Six Years' Residence in Various Parts of China and Formosa.* With Map. By Mrs. T. F. Hughes. Tinsley Brothers.

THAT some of Mrs. Hughes's chapters have already appeared in *Tinsley's Magazine*, was no reason for not republishing them, since they are lively and full of interest, and the subject of which they treat is one on which we cannot have too much information. She had many opportunities of seeing the inner life of the Celestials, and made good use of them; and of course her notes on the little-known island of Formosa have a special value. There is a Spanish Mission in Formosa which maintains an orphanage, and does a great work in the way of rearing infants exposed by their parents. An Albino, for instance, is always "done to death," the parents imagining that the birth of such a "foreign devil" is a punishment for the misdeeds of some remote ancestor. One Albino girl Mrs. Hughes came across whom an old Portuguese had bought of her unnatural parents for ten dollars. At his death he bequeathed her to the care of the Spanish Mission at Takow, leaving one hundred dollars for her maintenance. In general, however, the Chinese are much kinder than we have been led to think. Gratitude is strong among them. Mrs. Hughes had a rough Formosan servant whom she was obliged to discard for a more polished one who could speak a little English. The dismissed man was so terribly grieved that she interested herself to get him a position as gardener; and a few days after she found her table covered with pretty little bouquets, and hanging at the entrance a very graceful fancy basket filled with sweet-scented flowers.

Disinterested bravery, too, is not unknown; some Takow fishermen rescued a drowning boat's crew in a way which would have done honour to any English life-boat's company. The national idolatry is very gross, strangely contrasting with the cold, decorous Confucianism officially professed. Gods, it seems, can't see through red cloth, a screen of which was set up before the idols, when Mrs. Hughes and her party were lunching in a Buddhist temple. The priests thought the same screen concealed their actions; for, when some champagne was offered to them, they each sipped a little, passing on the forbidden liquid with a leer and a wink; and one of them, first glancing at the red curtain to make sure the idol was not looking, put the bottle to his mouth and drained it quite out. Mrs. Hughes did not appreciate a Chinese dinner; though why the foreign guests should have passed by such dishes as fried shrimps, fowl on spinach, &c., and have rudely gone on passing round their own sandwiches under the table, we cannot imagine. The Chinese apology for the rosewater ewer of city feasts is a characteristic one. "A servant brought in a dirty-looking wooden pail full of steaming hot water, and a dark coarse cloth, which latter the mandarins, while seated at table, in turn dipped in the water, and then mopped their unctuous faces in the most unconcerned manner."

Mrs. Hughes's testimony is that of most residents among them, that the Chinese improve vastly on acquaintance. During her whole stay she never once met with the slightest insult, but found every one courteous, obliging, and *honest*. There is a great deal in her book, the pleasing style of which will commend it to the most *dilettante* reader.

#### ANNUAL VOLUMES AND ILLUSTRATED BOOKS.

*The Leisure Hour*, for 1881. *The Sunday at Home*, for 1881. *The Boy's Own Annual*. *The Girl's Own Annual*. *Footsteps of the Italian Reformers*. By the Rev. John Stoughton, D.D. *Winter Pictures*. By Poet and Artist. *Indian Pictures, Drawn with Pen and Pencil*. By the Rev. W. Urwick, M.A. *Past and Present in the East*. By the Rev. Harry Jones, M.A. The Religious Tract Society, 56, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

THE four annual volumes contain a vast quantity of delectable reading of many and various kinds. Tales, narratives, descriptions, biographies, natural history, notes, memorable scenes, pages for the young, pulpit sketches, Sabbath thoughts, thoughts for the afflicted, poetry, all these are poured out in the first two volumes in inexhaustible profusion. The other two keep up

their character as a repertory of all sorts of information on subjects delightful to the minds of our younger folk.

The remaining four volumes are exceedingly well furnished with handsome and really artistic illustrations; and the names of the gentlemen responsible for the accompanying descriptive matter are a sufficient guarantee for its elegance and accuracy. The illustration of Winter by poets and painters combined is a novel idea, and exceedingly well worked out. It is strange how our idealisation of winter in this way should mitigate its rigours. However to be explained, the fact is so, and such books as this tend in that direction. The other three volumes, containing bright pictures of the sunny South, will form a good set-off against the volume on Winter, for we are not always in the humour for glorifying it. Dr. Stoughton, for instance, discourses of Turin, Pisa, and Lucca, Florence, Vienna, Naples, Rome, Perugia, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, Milan, and Trent. And the connection of these famous old towns with the early struggles of the Reformation, in a land where its fortunes were so romantic and disastrous, will enhance the interest arising from their architectural and other glories. We heartily commend these superb volumes to our readers.

\* \* Several volumes of Clark's Theological Series, just received, will be noticed in our next issue.

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